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Wide Open Studio Spaces:
Analyzing the Spatial Codes of Recorded Late- and Post-countercultural Pastoral Music

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Wide Open Studio Spaces:
Analyzing the Spatial Codes of
Recorded
Late- and Post-countercultural
Pastoral Music

by

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Dedication

To

cosmic spirits

exploring

spaces

"Music takes us out of the actual and whispers to us dim secrets that startle our wonder as to who we are, and for what, whence, and whereto."—Ralph Waldo Emerson

PREFACE

The 1960s' and 1970s' counterculture in North America and Western Europe, unlike other delimited human enclaves—whether labeled cultures or subcultures—which are the subject of most ethnomusicological enquiry, was much more amorphous (Fischer 2006). Very few individuals or core groups occupied the center of countercultural behavior, although a few such as Timothy Leary, Ken Kesey, and the Grateful Dead have become canonized through the historiographic process. Although there were local expressions and folk cultural aspects on witness in countercultural enclaves such as the famous Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, counterculture had greatest sway through popular media disseminations, over space and time, and its geographical-cultural confines are impossible to chart.[1] Also, only in its spectacular efflorescences was it a publicly expressive culture; more insidiously and widely it was first an intellectual behavioral culture. Counterculture, then, is best understood as a set of alternative ideologies and lifestyles in which many urbanites in the 1960s and 1970s wanted to place trust as real possibilities; only a few, for limited periods, were able to live out those alternative possibilities. Hence the coinage "weekend hippies," a set that overlapped with an even larger set of "closet" counterculturists.

To build and maintain faith in unrealistic, utopian, communal and individual ideas did require the building and maintenance of a critical mass of converts; without that mass

[1] For instance, my first exposure, living in New Delhi, to an Indian phalanx of the counterculture was through the Bollywood movie *Hare Rama, Hare Krishna* in 1973.

there would have been no cultural aspect to such alternative ideologies and behavior.[2] Those in the dreamweaving industries recognized this and repeatedly tried to offer products that played on the desires of not just a few dropouts from normal society, but of substantive masses of citizens who continued with, or returned to, their mundane work-a-day lives while "California Dreaming" of a "Take it Easy" carefree lifestyle in their spare time.[3] The dreamweavers, meanwhile, by keeping their fingers on the pulse of their generation's desires were able to afford the luxury of living out the dreams of the pastoral freedom that they sold. Jimmy Buffett's and Michael Martin Murphey's corporate empires and numerous invented idyllic retreats are two extreme exemplars of this success; every other country rock artist also bought a ranch in Colorado or other parts of the Rockies West.[4] Of course, such artists' material success also allowed them to hang on to the ideologies and illusions that were pragmatically difficult to cling on to for their

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[2] Once the community of thought, or thinking style, had been established within Western consciousness and culture, as happened during the countercultural efflorescence, even after that initial cultural wave splintered and shrunk into smaller subcultural enclaves, it has been easier for later subcultural groups and individuals to hang on to in their own alternative visions because of the empathy and inspiration they have found in popular cultural products from that heyday when counterculture almost became a mainstream youth culture. In the 1970s and 1980s, the folk music and recording scene based around Sonoma County, CA, and the musical cohort of Kate Wolf was one example. In the 1990s and 2000s, many jam-band followers have lived out the lifestyles whose viability was established by Deadheads.

[3] "California Dreaming," (No. 4, Billboard Top 40, 1965) by the Mamas & the Papas and "Take it Easy" by Jackson Browne (composed 1971) and the Eagles (No. 12, Billboard Top 40, 1972) became the two biggest anthems of the lifestyle offered by a move to California. Their peak chart positions do not represent their sway over time.

[4] Jimmy Buffett, born in Mississippi, and raised in Mobile, AL, eventually settled in Key West, FL, basing his empire on the successful marketing of a coastal lounging lifestyle exemplified in the song "Margaritaville," that eventually spawned books such as Tales from Margaritaville and the Margaritaville franchise of restaurants. Michael Martin Murphey, a successful and prolific songwriter for Columbia in Hollywood in the 1960s, a progressive country music pioneer who helped establish Austin as America's "Live Music Capital" in the early 1970s, a successful country rock artist in the mid-1970s, a popular mainstream country artist in the 1980s, eventually outdid himself commercially by helping launch the Contemporary Cowboy market and the Warner Western label. Murphey confirmed to me in an interview that he sells more product now then he did in the countercultural era. Of course, his product also includes Western Paraphrenelia and even the myth of the West at the WestFest, a festival he hosted for many years on his ranch in Snowshoe, Colorado, one of the four ranches he maintains in the region. Murphey was

audience once 1960s' delusions of a post-scarcity society had been quashed. That audience then comfortably slipped into weekend pastoral daydreams from the couch or the seats of their cars or RVs. And that is roughly, although not exactly, how I enter the picture.

I was not born to countercultural hippies. Rather, I am one of tens of millions of closet counterculturists from around the globe who have shared some of the same desires as the better recognized counterculturists—utopian desires, pastoral dreams, hopes of a world where human history was not merely one of an endless string of injustices and partial redressals. As Robert Pirsig put it in his late countercultural bible of the "metaphysics of quality," the question for counterculturists might have been "what is best?" Merely redressing human crimes against other humans only ended up stifling one's own capacities for ultimate experiences.[5] The counterculture's break from political engagement in the late 1960s clearly expressed this shift in thinking. If one had to find freedom, one couldn't afford to carry the heavy load of other humans' foibles and historical mess-ups; that would be a very low spring board with little spring, especially for peak experiences and a utopian society. A number of song lyrics from this era's music, directly or indirectly, alluded to this jettisoning of the excess load on the

among a host of country rock musicians, including Chris Hillman and Dan Fogelberg, who bought second homes in the mountainous West in the 1970s.

[5] Abraham Maslow's posthumously published and influential book *The Further Reaches of Human Nature* (1971) also revealed his similar concern with what he called "peak experiences." The central concerns of both Maslow's and Pirsig's works, both influential on and reflective of the times, stand in contradistinction to the postmodern mantra of "it's all good."

individual consciousness bequeathed by an imagined collective. "…Away from this foreign land …we are leaving, you don't need us!"[6]

Just within the US, thirty million consumers of countercultural dreams affirmed their sharing such desires when they bought a copy of what eventually became the top-selling long-play album in the country, The Eagles' *Their Greatest Hits 1971-1975* (Asylum, 1976). Of course, that record also spoke to other desires, fantasies, and dreams. A much smaller, more true-blue, contingent of eco-dreamers bought another compilation recently, *Weaver of Visions: A Kate Wolf Anthology* (Rhino, 2000). Again, the majority of these consumers is not constituted by environmental activists such as the latter-day avatar of the Eagles' Don Henley; nor do they live out their pastoral ideologies as did Kate Wolf who lived in the wine country of Sonoma County, California. These consumers do share in similar dreams, though. Their far remove from pastoral spaces referenced in the lyrics makes it that much more vital for dreamweavers such as Kate Wolf and her production team to make these pastoral visions tangible, palpable, bristling material presences. This dissertation is concerned precisely with the processes involved in presenting pastoral visions in believable form, whether aurally or in conjunction with cues that engage the other senses.[7]

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[6] Refrain from Crosby, Stills, and Nash's "Wooden Ships," a generational anthem of breaking away from the mainstream society, signally featured as one of the lead-off songs for the documentary, *Woodstock: Three Days of Love, Peace, and Music*.

[7] Beyond the aural domain, our concern here would be with visual cues, such as offered through film and album cover art, that evoke pastoral spaces. It is useful to remember that other senses may also be engaged for a similar or additional evocative effect. Olfactory senses, for example, are engaged in tandem with new age music in aromatherapy to help the patron drift away into pastoral reveries. Similarly song lyrics might engage the olfactory memory to enhance the pastoral evocative effect, as does the line "I smell cinnamon and spices, I hear music everywhere" in the Byrds' "Renaissance Fair." Even the traditional English song "Scarborough Fair" chose herbs with distinctive scents in the line "parsley, sage, rosemary, and thyme." Vibratory sense is engaged directly through the sonic and subsonic components of music and might be

I fancy myself as of a similar countercultural mind as the one I interpret behind the music that speaks to me. Thus in some senses this dissertation takes a not so common stance. Not only is the ethnomusicologist not invisible, but rather he is in the dead center of all that is said. It was my own interpretations that made me chase this music initially. Later, in my hunt for more spatial countercultural music, I connected with the interpretations of popular reviewers and critics, especially those who heard in it the same language of spaces and atmospheres. Although, the methodological emphasis here is not on reception, I have consulted almost every major published review of most of the works discussed here, as well as most other works in related genres from the period. Ethnographic method also comes into play here largely as an additional tool to compare my readings against those of the producers of some of the music discussed. Sometimes, to their mind, I hit the nail dead on the head, as when I surprised country-folk singer-songwriter Kate Wolf's collaborator and producer Bill Griffin with an accurate summarization of his lifelong musical project and his subtle-but-integral contributions to a number of pastoral "country folk" albums by Wolf. On other occassions, the music might immediately have emanated from musicians' very specific circumstances and they rejected my projection of an existential, and potentially more broadly resonating, reading onto their work, as did Danny O'Keefe's with regard to his song "The Road." Still, the distinction between the two interpretations could not be deemed as one of strictly etic and emic points of view. With a widely popular musical work, the listeners' experience of the song might have little to do with the particulars of the artist's life that inspired the

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more important in some pieces than in others; in fact, its effect becomes most conspicuous when, for whatever technical reason, the bottom or bass frequencies drop out when playing back a recording.

lyrics. How many listeners in the 1970s were on the tour bus 250 days a year? But millions across the world somehow still found resonances with Jackson Browne's multi-platinum 1977 album *Running on Empty*, which prominently featured the best-known rendition of O'Keefe's "The Road" in tandem with his self-penned the generationally resonating anthem "Running on Empty." A whole generation felt that inescapable existential void in their lives, whether or not they lived on tour buses. In such cases, I do have to regard my own reading as not only valid but an interpretation more likely in line with those of other listeners not living professional musicians' particular and peculiar lifestyles. I view myself not only as a member of the tuned-in, competent audience of this music but also someone with a broad overview of the commonalities between counterculture's various collective and individual musical and behavioral tracks; "pattern recognition" was Marshall McLuhan's nomenclature for this methodology. It is unlikely, for instance, that Pharoah Sanders or Pat Metheny were as consciously and acutely aware of the overlaps between their work and David Grisman's or Tony Rice's as I, someone attracted to their musics specifically because of the commonalities, have long been. And it is not only from a distant vantage point of an eclectic music seeker that these commonalities are easily sensed. The receptive milieu during the late countercultural era was just right for this broad spectrum of pastoralia to find popular resonance with overlapping audiences. We will blame that on the era's zeitgeist!

Acknowledgements

Many folks are responsible for this dissertation, and in short order I will turn to thanking them as best words can. But first and foremost I am thankful for magic, without and within. I am grateful for the spaces that lie beyond the business of everyday life; I am not business-minded. And I am thankful for the music that, as Emerson reminds us in the quotation I chose to open this work, whispers to us of possibilities, not just realities, of what lies beyond and what might lie within. I also thank musicians and recordists who have made those possibilities seem like realities.

I am thankful for America's wide, open, spaces (maybe best unfenced and spelled without the commas). Yet, as I discovered last year when I travelled through the West twice, their presence isn't half as seductive without the music that injects them with magic. Ultimately, I have to agree with Hendrix's summation on "Spanish Castle Magic," "It's all in your mind, baby!" Much of the magic does lie in the mind of the beholder. For that I have to start my thank you list with the genetic sources of the mind that has made me do things such as chasing music and spaces half way across the planet. The passionate gene surely comes from my father's side; neither Dr. Surender Mohan Kalra nor his family is noted for moderation. The sensible gene comes from Saroj Sethi's side of the family; although not without its own brand of mad genius, the Sethi sensibleness likely has much to do with the fact that I have been able to *complete* this Ph.D. Of course, I also deeply appreciate my parents' unconditional love and the tolerance they have shown for my many changes in career direction.

The Sethis also have much to do with my introduction to Western music. It was my mother's youngest brother, Ashok, whose collection first introduced me to quality music, from Dire Straits to CSNY, much of which I have reacquired in digital form over the years. From his older brother Subhash, I acquired the LP record player that fifteen years ago opened for me an additional avenue to explore—record sales in New Delhi's diplomatic enclave. Equally important to my introduction to some exceptional music were three comperes, all with immaculate taste, working on All India Radio, New Delhi: Hartman D'Souza, Anindo Chakraborty, and Sanjiv Barot.

I also deeply appreciate my brother Sanjay's moral and financial support over the last ten years, although he still keeps trying to convince me to return to medicine. His love of 1980s new wave and mainstream pop-rock music in our younger days, I am sure, also contributed to my seeking music that attempted to reach deeper. Despite his tough exterior, I can be sure that no matter where I go or what I do, big brother is watching (over me), and it's good to know that.

Of course, without Dr. Stephen Slawek's faith in whatever he saw, and hopefully continues to see, in me, I would not be in Austin pursuing this degree. I, on my part, was struck by his quiet, guru-like grace and benevolent presence the very first time I met him, when I came to the University of Texas for an informal interview in 2002. "Smilingly wise and wisely smiling" is how I describe Dr. Slawek. Without officially being my advisor, Dr. Kevin Mooney has been no less instrumental in my reaching this point in my academic career. His mentorship and friendship meld imperceptibly and flow freely; his undoubting faith in my capabilities almost makes me believe in myself. Dr. Slawek and Dr. Mooney also get a major tip of the John B. Stetson for continuing to be performing musicians of the highest order, despite the demands of academia.

Dr. Karl H. Miller I appreciate for his listening without boundaries and for recognizing the brand of offbeatitude and humor that marks my writing and take on music and life. I appreciate Dr. Mark Sarisky for his relaxed attitude while he juggles more balls than I can count. Dr. Eric Drott and his class on analysis of popular music were very influential in helping me recognize the significance of traditional harmonic moves even in musics I believed relied primarily on acoustic manipulations.

Dr. Veit Erlmann and his class on music and technology were responsible for the inception of this project, and I also thank him for taking the time to read part of the dissertation and for extending his enthusiastic support for it. I thank Dr. Phil Ford for serving on my comprehensive examination committee and for introducing me to Marshall McLuhan's coinage "pattern recognition"—it hits closest to my understanding of how we know anything. Of course, without the financial support I have received from the school through the generosity of the Texas-sized hearts of Dr. B. Glenn Chandler and Dr. David Hunter, this project could not have been completed. I will forever remain indebted for their generosity. Thanks are also due to my other teachers at the School of Music at UT Austin, for their encouragement and support at important junctures—especially, Dr. Gerard Behague, Dr. Rebecca Baltzer, and Dr. Andrew Dell Antonio—as also to Dr. Karl Miller in library sciences. With Stephen Wray, Anne Hall, Bob Gowdey, Tina Velasquez, and Dr. Hunter March on my side, I also rarely had to encounter any red tape. I can also not forget Dr. Pamela Way for hiring me, with some gentle persuasion from her banjo-picking husband, as a Graduate Writing Consultant at the UT Learning Center, partly based on my dubitable credentials as a bluegrass musician.

Most of all, my gratitude is owed to all weavers of visions—musicians and recordists with golden ears, hearts, vocal cords, and fingertips—who share their talents and their dreams. Many I have never known in person, for instance Kate Wolf, who is the

subject of an entire chapter in this work and a bigger one in my life. But Dave Alvin speaks for me too when he says, “I don’t know much about Kate Wolf’s life and loves, but in a few raw and tender lines, she sure knew a lot about mine.” This project has provided me with a tenable excuse to get to know her intimate collaborators Nina Gerber and Bill Griffin, sonic magicians in their own right, for whose time and enthusiasm for my work, I am grateful. Other longtime heroes—Tom Rush, Michael Martin Murphey, Al Perkins, and Mike Auldridge—who found the time to speak with me are also deeply appreciated, as they have been for long for their spellbinding music.

In the whole process, it was a lesser hero who became a greater friend, and in an instant. Although familiar with Bob Livingston’s participation in some of my favorite music by Michael Martin Murphey, Jerry Jeff Walker, and the Lost Gonzo Band, I was never clear about his role in those recordings or specifically musically enamored with him. But in our first meeting, I immediately recognized a kindred cosmic cowboy—“the original spirit” of the kind of weird I had hoped to find in Austin. Only later have I discovered his way with a Gibson guitar and just about any audience.

Last, but not least, a toast to my three best friends: thanks to sweet Ms. Karissa Poszywak for caring, to fellow “desperado” Ramblin’ Pat Spencer for caring for what we know is the best in American and British music, and to my personal guru Prof. Saby Moulik for repeatedly reminding a passion junkie of the wisdom of the *bindaas* attitude of carefreeness. Somewhere in between lies the happy medium—it’s “a question of balance,” as the mighty Moodies said!

Wide Open Studio Spaces: Analyzing the Spatial Codes of Recorded Late- and Post-countercultural Pastoral Music

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In mid- to late-1960s America and Britain, against the backdrop of escalating socio-political disappointment, countercultural ideologies and fantasies of a musical youth dovetailed with improvements in recording technologies to generate new sonic languages of limning in sound utopian pastoral spaces to which recordists and listeners could escape, virtually. Seeking alternative spaces that their alternative identities could more comfortably inhabit became a central project of many progressive groups and individuals, often, but not always, hailing from middle-class white society. The cultural and musical trends did eventually have a global sway. Coeval advances in sound recording and reproduction technologies made musical recordings a major avenue through which the sought spaces were limned and even materialized sonically, but other media, especially album cover art and film in conjunction with musical soundtracks,

provided additional avenues for pastoral spatial projects of this generation and afford us ancillary resources for better understanding these projects. While the specific utopian spatial projects and the underlying ideologies of musicians working in various branches of country rock, soft rock, progressive country, progressive bluegrass, art rock, Afro-centric avant-garde jazz, and proto-New Age music were not always exactly the same, there were considerable overlaps in the societal sources of their disaffections, the wellsprings of their inspiration, and in the textural sonic languages they developed in the recording studio.

Unlike music with overtly spatial projects, the sonic aspects of music that subtly captures a hyper-real sense of the natural have remained underconsidered and their contribution to the aesthetic and psychological impact of music has slipped by under the radar of most listeners' conscious attention. This dissertation, then, is an attempt to analyze the subtle acoustic and musical communicative codes devised by musicians and recordists that do inform later music.

Through close listening and textual analysis, this dissertation identifies the different levels at which spatial allusions are encoded into a musical product. Ethnographic interviews help distinguish between deliberate manipulations of studio technology and responses based in tacit understandings thereof. An overall cross disciplinary approach, borrowing especially from acoustics and psychoacoustics, aided me substantially with the analyses.

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Chapter One: Introduction

"ALL I'M AFTER": UNDERSTANDING THE LATE COUNTERCULTURAL ZEITGEIST THROUGH COMPREHENDING ITS MUSICAL AND SONIC COMMUNICATIVE CODES

> It is possible that in the not too distant future if the Indian wants to learn about India he will have to consult the West, and if the West wants to remember how they were they will have to come to us.
>
> --Unnamed writer quoted in Gita Mehta, *Karma Cola*[1]

The title of this introductory chapter comes from a song of that name included on Canadian "folk" singer-songwriter Gordon Lightfoot's 1983 album *Shadows*, a recorded masterpiece of studio pastoralia, which in India was released by The Gramophone Company of India Limited and which I acquired on compact audio cassette in April 1984. I had been a fan of Lightfoot's music since 1979, when I first heard on New Delhi's public radio "If Children Had Wings" from the album *Endless Wire*. On *Shadows*, among other songs, the title track and "All I'm After" were two that spoke deeply to my teenage romantic sensibilities, unfailingly inviting me into a daydream; the remaining songs also maintained a continuity of soundscapes. I had no active cognizance then of pastoralism, its history, or of the fact that Lightfoot was a master of the form and had spent almost two

[1] I recently found the opening quote I have used here originally culled from Indian writer Gita Mehta's book *Karma Cola*, which I browsed through as a teen in New Delhi, in Swiss anthropologist Paolo Favero's article, "Phantasms in a 'Starry' Place: Space and Identification in a Central New Delhi Market." It perfectly captures the real *raison d'etre* of this work and my career as a commentator on the West's music and intellectual history. As a youth growing up in faraway Delhi, with no peer pressure to consume only contemporarily valid sounds and thought, I was free to seek what Robert Pirsig would have described as "what is best" in Western music and thought. While most contemporary popular music studies, ethnomusicology, and cultural studies in the West deal with human phenomena of current significance, I cut myself from the same cloth as intellectual counterculturists such as Pirsig in insisting that we must not be distracted from "what is best" by what begs comment simply because it clamors for attention. In my wide exposure to 20th century Western music and thought, the late countercultural ideologies and its artistic effluents represent the best of the contemporary West worthy of special attention as the previous canonized renaissances in Western thought and art. The only Americans (the Westerner type with whom I am most familiar) I have met in my travels interested in hanging on to an ideological America, not confused with one or the other political stance, have not been academicians, but down and outers and daydreamers like myself and Gordon Lightfoot. Of course, the first part of that quote also has been borne out in my life as whatever I know about Indian music, at least cerebrally, I learned from my Western-born advisor Dr. Stephen Slawek.

decades invoking, celebrating, seeking, and wishing upon others “good spaces in” “far away places.”[2]

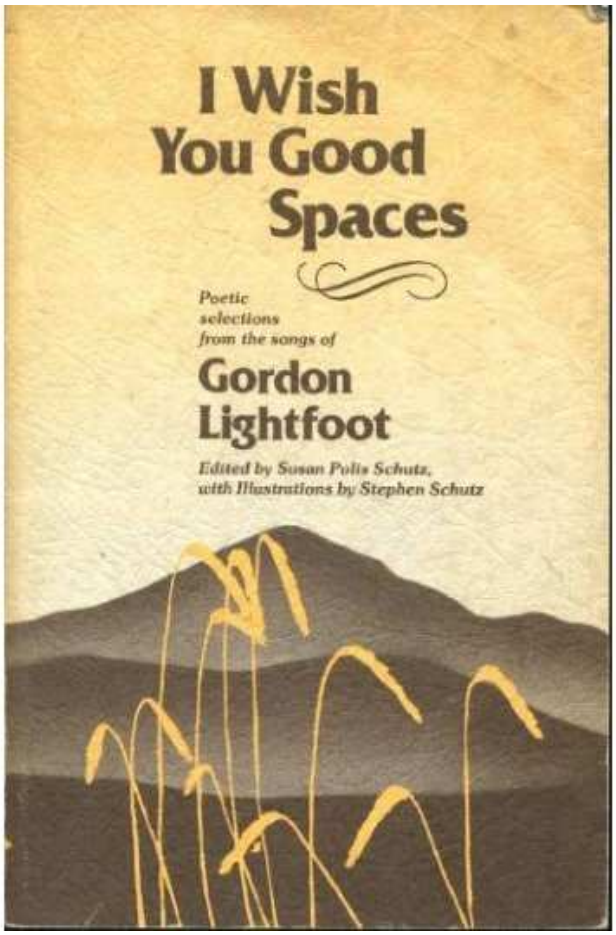

Fig 1.1: Cover of *I Wish You Good Spaces: Poetic Selections from the Songs of Gordon Lightfoot* by Susan Polis Schutz (Boulder, Colorado: Blue Mountain Arts). The generously illustrated volume was presented as a pastoral poetry book with space-invoking lines culled from Lightfoot’s catalog, rather than featuring full songs. Like album covers, such other paraphernalia can offer a good barometer of the intent or reception of music. The picturesque names and locations of printing and song publishing companies and record labels often offer additional evidence.

[2] Those two phrases appear in the line “I wish you good spaces in the far away places you go” in the Lightfoot song “I’m Not Supposed to Care.” The theme of open ended relationships and moving on to explore other places, spaces, people, and life itself was a central one in the music of the countercultural era. “Gentle on My Mind,” written by maverick folk/country/old-time musician John Hartford and “Morning Sky” by soft rocker Dan Fogelberg were just two standards of the era that also captured a similar philosophy about life, mobility, relationships, and exploring open pastoral spaces. Lightfoot’s words in the aforementioned song just more succinctly verbalize that philosophy and align it with my claim.

Unlike many of the other works I will analyze in this dissertation, verbal and other ancillary allusions to pastoral scenes were limited on these aforementioned songs and on Lightfoot's 1983 album as a whole. That is understandable, however, in light of the fact that *Shadows* arrived after a decade and a half of studio recordists continuously training their audiences in an elaborate language of sonic and musical cues that invoked expansive spaces, usually "pastoral" in at least one of the senses of the word. After more than 15 albums, by 1983, Lightfoot on "All I'm After" was able to erect the pastoral backdrop of the romantic scene merely by utilizing the sonic cues that on previous recordings had accompanied more specific verbal elaborations of pastoral scenes. Yet, even in 1968, when this specific audience training was still in its infancy, some recordists were able to capture in sound on record a vast sense of the pastoral as did Tom Rush and his production team with only one guitar on the instrumental piece "Rockport Sunday." Is training as a listener of a specific recorded music genre, then, essential to the effectiveness of some musical or acoustic moves in evoking specific spaces, in this case a pastoral space? Or is the effectiveness of pastoral invocations reliant upon training that extends throughout life into other or all aspects of listening and that is not limited to specific musical contexts? This dissertation will argue for both processes' variable but collaborative roles in the efficacy of musical and sonic spatial and pastoral codes.

"All I'm After" also alludes to my hopes in this dissertation of documenting the many aspects of the ascension of space *per se*, although generally cast in a yearning pastoral sense, to a position of cultural centrality in the late countercultural era zeitgeist. Within music, I interrogate individually the different facets that constitute a musical recording—music, lyrics (where applicable), and recorded sound. When examining the

complete musical product, I also include a consideration of additional facets such as album cover design and, if information is available, advertising, which act as ancilliary programmatic cues for the listener's imagination. Additionally, while keeping my focus on evidences of conterculturalists' heightened concern with finding and defining alternative, often utopian, spaces, I also examine some parallel expressions of pastoral mindedness in the deeply imbricated worlds of other media, such as literature and film, which, even though they may not have been as important venues for the emergence of the pastoral impulse as were popular music recordings, have received more attention within the respective academic disciplines that focus on those media. The "greening of the silver screen" and the emergence of the pastoral genre in the countercultural era Western, especially with the 1969 release of the "hippie Western" *Easy Rider*, has been the subject of a number of film studies anthologies and a gander at their relatively recent publication dates is instructive.[3] Of course, scholarly treatments of attitudes toward the environment continue to be a major undertaking in literature as also in newer interdisciplinary fields such as culture studies. Even the latter's cross-disciplinary scope is not expansive enough, however, to include pastoral popular music, the sales and cultural influence of which goes relatively unnoticed.[4] Even the famous synched popular musical soundtrack of the aforementioned countercultural classic film or other music of that era that evinced similar fixations and a particular spatial vocabulary has hardly been revisited.

Postmodern rock historiography revels in studying musics for their overt revolutionary stance. Thus, the worthy musics of the 1960s are the protest music of urban folkies and soul and early funk music of African Americans. The totemic rebellion of psychedelic rock also draws attention for its definitive role in the most colorful youth

[3] These include Pat Brereton (2004), David Ingram (2004), and Deborah A. Carmichael (2006).

culture of the 20th century. Author after rock text author, next, claims the death of the counterculture and its music at the altar of Altamont in December 1969, and the ensuing years in rock, until the advent of punk around 1976, are dismissed with such epithets as "dazed and confused," "navel gazing music of the 'Me Decade'," and an "era of excess." For most rock historians, the only redeeming trends in this era of overindulgence are the ones that would, by the second half of the seventies, lead to a return of explicitly rebellious, socio-politically virulent, live-performance-oriented abrasive rock and roll in the shape of punk. Thus, from the late countercultural period, it is the Velvet Underground, the MC5, Iggy Pop and the Stooges, the New York Dolls, Patti Smith, and the tangentially-related David Bowie who emerge as the heroes whose music and works seem to matter anymore. Meanwhile, the grand visions and the equally magnificent studio works of the then dominant album oriented rock recordists from the period have often been summarily dismissed as stylistically excessive and substantively wanting.[5] Thus rock, competing with classical music for artistic worth based in complexity, is bound to be found desperately wanting, ending up at best as a curiosity. Most obviously, such has been the case with the progressive rock genre, which nonetheless has of late invited music theorists seeking to stretch beyond their constrained traditional home bases to flex their analytical muscle.

Within jazz historiography, rock and jazz fusions were equally misunderstood and discounted as examples of selling-out or at best tolerated as populist experiments in expanding jazz's popular appeal and ensuring its *commercial* vitality. Rock, for these

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[4]For instance of a cross-disciplinary examination of environmental studies see Hochman (1998).

[5] In academia, classical musicologist and music theorists do often turn to prog-rock as the music of choice to transpose their analytical chops. Within music academia, this is still a marginal activity. Popular critics, of course, continue to address classic rock works from the 1970s such as Pink Floyd's *Dark Side of the Moon* and *The Wall*, Steely Dan's *Aja* and *Pretzel Logic*, Led Zeppelin's *Led Zeppelin IV*, and the Eagles'

groups of commentators, is good for one thing—good old "revolution," whether in the form of Presleyesque generational defiance, Dylanesque chastisements of the establishment, or Johnny Rottenesque sub-cultural blows against the hegemonic empire. Its potency and worth has been deemed to lay in gestures that fall within the verbal and visual-theatrical domains. And jazz's raison d'être, for these commentators, has been the aesthetic of "authentic" live communal improvisational performance, harkening back varyingly to the hallowed aesthetic of the New Orleans street or the New York dive. As other, "musical," aspects of the potent languages of Western popular music have not been understood, let alone valued, the work of sonic architects of studio rock or jazz understandably has gone underrecognized.

This does not mean that there has been no acknowledgement whatsoever for the studio craftsmanship and artistic achievement of any popular music artists or recordists. The sonic regimes of Phil Spector, the sweeping sonic washes of the Beach Boys' leader and producer Brain Wilson, and the grand sonic designs of the Beatles' work with George Martin have launched a thousand encomiums in rock historiography, as have the intuitive sonic shapings of their roots music predecessors such as producers Sam Phillips and Leonard Chess. Jimi Hendrix's flamboyant studio flourishes and Jimmy Page's booming recording innovations have been widely celebrated too. "Magical touch" and "genius" have been the fawning descriptors lavished on the works of these canonized saints of 20th Century Western popular music.[6]

Hotel California, albums whose continuing and unmatched popular success has begat a market for their critical appraisal. The British DVD review series *Music in Review* evidences this popular trend.

[6] For evidence of Phil Spector's own legendary status in rockdom, one need only search an online seller's site for the number of times over the last two decades his exploits, both in out of the studio, have inspired book-length treatments, including Mark Ribowsky, *He's A Rebel: Phil Spector : Rock and Roll's Legendary Producer* and Mick Brown, *Tearing Down the Wall of Sound: the Rise and Fall of Phil Spector*. For Brian Wilson, see Charles L. Granata, *Wouldn't it be Nice: Brian Wilson and the Making of the Beach Boys' Pet Sounds* and Philip Lambert, *Inside the Music of Brian Wilson: The Songs, Sounds, and Influences of the Beach Boys' Founding Genius*. For the Beatles, see George Martin and Jeremy Hornsby, *All You*

The problem with rock historiography, in fact, seems to be one of the borrowed idea of the canon itself, a concept adapted from historical musicology, although the criteria for admission into a popular music canon might be entirely different, even extramusical, as evidenced in Presley's, Dylan's, and Rotten's statures. Therefore, if a music has been dismissed on ideological grounds, its major referents become precisely those elements that got it dismissed from eligibility for artistic or intellectual worthiness. Thus, Pharoah Sanders' definitive "avant garde" proto-world music works from 1966 through the 1970s, once dismissed as "hippy-ish mumbo-jumbo" for their verbal affirmations of allegiance to the era's now sneered at "peace, love, and understanding" ideologies, stand no chance of a serious consideration of other aspects that might, once understood, in fact also help with an appreciation of the summarily dismissed aspects. Jazz critic Richard Cook's epitaph for Pharoah Sanders' most important work is emblematic of this deafness: "Sanders strung together a sequence of albums for the modish Impulse label during this period, but they were a motley bunch: too much hippy-ish mumbo-jumbo, cluttered with chanting and *percussion* and players who seemed to be present merely *to add extra weight to the sound* [emphases mine]" (Cook 1998). What Cook and his ilk do not recognize is the necessity of that "extra weight" to the soundscape construction project of these and similar albums. This was not necessarily jazz in a traditional or even avant-garde sense, the latter a category under which Sanders' and sometime-collaborator Alice Coltrane's work from the period usually gets lumped in recognition of its departure from the former. The dissimilar and unarticulated criteria

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Need is Ears: The Inside Personal Story of the Genius who Created the Beatles and Geoff Emerick, *Here, There and Everywhere: My Life Recording the Beatles*. For cultish celebrations of legendary sounds in general, see William Clark and Jim Cogan, *Temples of Sound: Inside the Great Recording Studios*, David N. Howard, *Sonic Alchemy: Visionary Music Producers and Their Maverick Recordings*, and David Simon, *Studio Stories: How the Great New York Records Were Made: From Miles to Madonna, Sinatra to The Ramones*.

used for jazz and popular music canonization in the US as compared with those employed in other major regions of the world that patronize musics with US roots do need to be interrogated, as Europeans and Japanese certainly seem to celebrate exactly what America rejects.[7]

Any cultural expression, whether music or lifestyle, associated with the idea of "new age," has also similarly and summarily been dismissed by both popular and academic commentators in the US. Not only does this mean that Paul Winter and Oregon's music, for example, is not adequately appreciated and, like Pharoah Sanders', their contributions to what later exploded to become the world music market have gone almost unacknowledged, but it also implies that the musical languages which they shared with many of their contemporary musics and which they bequeathed to a wide array of later musics, especially recorded musics, are not understood.[8]

Another byproduct of the canonical approach is a division of labor between genre-specific specialist music commentators or "experts," whether scholars or critics, guarding the gates to individual vernacular music canons. Thus only certain musics, especially those that hold a place in the standard linear narrative of 20th century popular music or

[7] This is evidenced in the thriving networks in those regions of venues that are eager to host "authentic" American purveyors of American art forms, from jazz to blues to bluegrass. Additional evidence can easily be gleaned from the online presence and appreciation garnered by American musicians, especially from the late countercultural era. For instance, a large proportion of gushing comments for videos of Pharoah Sanders performing material from his "hippy-ish mumbo-jumbo" phase with American musicians on a French TV show, *A Little Night Music*, come from fans outside the US. Similarly, before the relatively recent spate of reissue of 1970s country rock albums, mostly by European or Australian labels, information about many could only be found on Japanese websites in the Japanese language. Some of those albums still continue to be available on CD only in Japan.

[8] Despite Paul Winter's and Oregon's monumental significance to the shape jazz, New Age, and world musics have taken, it is impossible to find even an article-length academic assessment of their music and contributions, let alone a monograph. One out-of-print guide, Patti Jean Birosik's *The New Age Music Guide :Profiles and Recording of 500 Top New Age Musicians* (New York: Collier Books, 1989), and one doctoral dissertation, Leanne Brooke King's *New Age Music: Issues of History, Perception, and Reality*. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest/UMI, 2006), are perhaps the only historical or analytical treatments of which New Age music seems to have been deemed worthy. There definitely are a number of texts on the use of New Age music in healing. The DVD *George Winston: Season's in Concert* does provide some insight into a New Age pioneer's conceptualizations of relationships between pastoral spaces and music.

rock music history, are handled by rock music scholars. Any music reckoned as falling under the so-called "folk" genres (past the music of the urban folk revival), from progressive bluegrass to the so-called "New Acoustic music" to studio-crafted expansive "country folk" music, is hardly deemed even tangential to that history and hence becomes the purview of a different set of commentators who bring to their analyses the specific concerns and agendas of their own fields. Lyrical themes and their relationship to rural, urban, Southern, or Western identities, for example, continue to hold sway in the concerned corridors in discussions of any music related with the ideas of country or Southern folk music.[9]

Interestingly, however, it was in urban genres vaguely associated with ideas of country or folk music that one of the largest late countercultural blossoming of the pastoralist impulse and its attendant studio techniques occurred. And even if some historians in rock and popular music studies of late might have shown interest in the role of the studio, the commentators who mostly address music loosely tagged as country- or folk-related do not share that concern. Thus, Michael Martin Murphey, for instance, having been labeled a "contemporary cowboy" singer for the last two decades and a "progressive country music" artist since 1971, is of no interest to popular music historians who are much more likely to look at technological elements in music than are folk or country music commentators. That also means that for most observers the difference between the "contemporary cowboy" music of Waddie Mitchell and Michael Martin Murphey is largely of sales figures and that they fail to distinguish, in intent and

[9] For instance see works of English educators Cecilia Tichi (1994, 1998) and Fanning (1987).

execution, Murphey's larger-than-life spatial studio recording of a "traditional" song such as "Spanish is a Loving Tongue" from earlier urban folk revival covers of that song.[10]

In many cases, although not particularly Murphey's, resort to "studio gimmickry" has been viewed as artistic dishonesty and a lack of authenticity. That latter oft-touted quality, of course, has long been the quality deemed central to the live, communal music making based ideologies projected by commentators onto folk, country, and rock music. Thus the only commentary that the studio-savvy country rock group the Eagles, America's all-time top-selling recording act, has typically drawn concerns its "selling out" and diluting into radio-friendly soft rock Gram Parsons' more authentic country rock amalgam. Rock historian Reebee Garofalo's assessment is emblematic:

> "There was, however, something about the group that was *unsettling* [emphasis mine]. When rockers like Creedence Clearwater Revival or Neil Young performed country flavored material, there was a certain southern ethos, a down-home earthiness, in the way they sang. The Eagles were slicker, more polished….The word that readily comes to mind in describing them is *corporate* [emphasis in original]."[11]

Once again "earthiness" is equated with authenticity in the rock canonization process; and studio-aided "slickness" with the opposite. Selling is necessarily conflated with selling out. The fact that Gram Parsons, on many albums tracks, was himself not averse

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[10] "Spanish is a/the Loving Tongue" (Charles Badger Clark/John Simon) on Michael Martin Murphey's *Cowboy Songs* (Warner Western, 1989). According to John Irwin White, writing in *Get Along, Little Dogies!: Songs and Songmakers of the American West* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1975), p. 131, the lyrics were written in 1915 by the Boston-born Badger Clark, poet laureate of South Dakota, who had worked as a cowboy in the Southwest. The tune was supplied by Bill Simon. The tune was likely popularized in the folk revival by Richard Dyer-Bennet, and later recorded by Glenn Yarbrough, Ian & Sylvia, and Bob Dylan. White's book is representative of the scholarship typical of folkloristics, a field totally uninterested in those aspects of music that would place Emmylou Harris' and Murphey's recordings in a different category. There are also a number of online discussion forums (for instance on mudcat: http://www.mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=27855) that discuss the origins and evolution of the tune, but limit themselves to the concerns that have spread broadly from the folkristic impulse of the last major urban folk revival. Minor changes in lyrics and melody are the major concerns for this type of scholarly or popular research, with no commentary on the recordings or the sound.

[11] Reebee Garofalo, *Rockin' Out*. 234.

to similar lush studio-constructed sounds thus goes unacknowledged; what is ideologically edited out of music is therefore not aurally grasped and obviously is not intellectually cognized.[12]

This is not to imply that these space-invoking elements are not heard or that they do not effectively accomplish their aesthetic and psychological work, but rather that only when they are obvious and discountable as examples of generic disingenuous non-artistic commerciality that they draw the attentions of scholars and critics. Examples of such obvious and easily-dismissed studio sheen would include most lush soft-rock music of the 1970s and any music unfortunate enough to have invited the category "New Age" or even "fusion" and the suffix "pop."

[12] Parsons himself, before his death in 1973, was slightly upset at the greater commercial success that country rock groups such as the Eagles, who crafted more expansive studio-based sounds, were receiving. Widely acknowledged later as the most important person to have turned LA music community onto the charms of country music in the late 1960s and thus as the "father of country rock," Parsons himself also did not restrict himself to a live traditional-country-music-meets-southern-soul aesthetic either. His "Hickory Wind" on the Byrds' seminal 1968 country rock album *Sweetheart of the Rodeo* was a model for a lushly-orchestrated nostalgic pastoral ode. When he returned from a hiatus in 1972, to release what were the works that most faithfully realized his vision of country rock, the albums *GP* and *Grievous Angel*, he again featured a number of soft, aching ballads with nostalgic, often pastoral, imagery that had similar, but by now even more spacious, lush recordings. These included "A Song for You," "The New Soft Shoe," "Hearts on Fire," "Love Hurts," and "Brass Buttons."

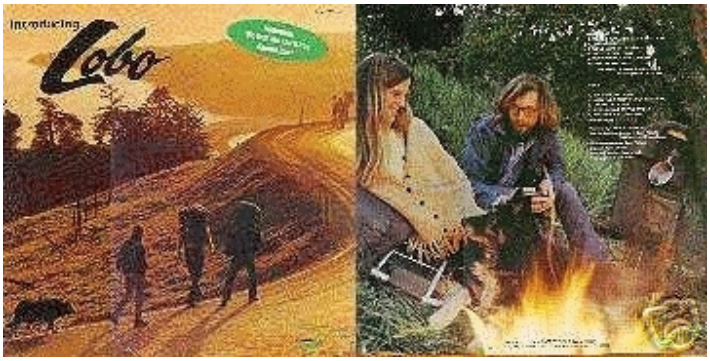

Fig 1.2: Front and back covers of singer-songwriter and soft rock pioneer Lobo's album *Introducing Lobo* (Big Tree/Ampex Records, 1971). As clear from the images and the lyrics to the hit "Me and You and a Dog Named Boo," the album literally carried on its sleeve its "back to the land" message. Despite, or because of, a number of lushly orchestrated hits, Lobo would be critically dismissed as a purveyor of saccharine studio-based soft rock that was overly arranged and required limited singing ability, with the singer only required to softly croon into the sensitive microphones. Kent Lavoie aka Lobo, in a Florida band the Rumors, interestingly had been a bandmate of Gram Parsons, who never had a Top 40 hit or a major hit album in his lifetime,[13] but eventually garnered all the acclaim ever directed toward country-inflected mainstream countercultural music. Compare Lobo's critical dismissal with the comments now available online from the artist's fans, which acknowledge and celebrate the relaxed pastoral feel of his music.

The fact of the matter was that with the generational fixation on spatial exploration (even if from the couch or the car seat), the expanded capacity of the studio in crafting and delivering such desired spatialities, the resultant escalated costs of music production and the ensuing need for populist slickness to ensure sales, much of recorded music in the

[13] Parsons' only album that showed up in the *Billboard* albums chart was *Grievous Angel* (Reprise, 1973), which just scraped the top 200 at no. 195 in February 1974, half year after his death from drug abuse. His best showing with a project he led was by the Flying Burrito Brothers' first album *The Gilded Palace of Sin* (A&M, 1969) which made no. 164 in May 1969. Previously, the Byrds' *Sweetheart of the Rodeo* (Columbia, 1968) reached no. 77 in August 1968; while the project had originally featured Parsons' prominently, his exit from the band before the album's release led to his vocals being replaced in the mix by the official leader Roger McGuinn's and the album also was the lowest charting for the very popular Byrds. Lobo, comparatively, featured a no. 5 single in "Me and You, and a Dog Named Boo" on his debut album pictured above, and two top 10 hits, "I'd Love You to Want Me" (no. 2) and "Don't Expect Me to Be Your Friend" (no. 8), on his third album Of a Simple Man (Big Tree, 1972), which reached no. 37 on the album charts in October 1972 and stayed on the charts for 37 weeks. Again, interestingly, all three of

1970s tottered precariously on the brim of those categories. For these genres' popular audiences, though, these space-invoking maneuvers were perfectly apposite for the intended function.

In another significant body of recorded music, it was subtlety that resulted in studio touches of recordists attempting a nuanced construction of a sense of natural space slipping by under the radars of conscious cognizance of most listeners and even trained experts. That was how they intended it. Again while this does not preclude such studio work's success on aesthetic and psychological fronts, lack of conscious recognition of its presence has meant that little critical attention or comment has been directed its way. By the mid-1970s, "corporate" soft-rock with pastoral imagery, never a huge critical success but a major commercial one in the early part of the decade, had been displaced from the mainstream by styles that invoked more urban images. The recording innovations that had lent studio country rock and soft rock their distinctive spatialities, now were carried over into the niche Americana markets where pastoral idioms lived on. While the indie infrastructure that has supported them since has lent them an aura of immediacy and authentic communal-based roots music, a significant proportion of music sold under such labels as "progressive bluegrass," "jazzgrass," and "country folk" actually has been deeply reliant on the studio for infusing it with a shimmering sense of spatiality.

Kate Wolf, who recorded from 1973 to 1986, and Tony Rice, who started recording in 1973, have been two artists on this niche circuit whose work has been marketed under the genre labels of "country folk" and "progressive bluegrass" respectively, and whose studio music was clearly distinguished from their live performances in terms of the attention to spatiality. In this project I integrate the

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the abovementioned Lobo singles topped the *Billboard* Adult Contemporary singles chart, placing them in a category that almost excludes critical acclaim. For chart figures, see Whitburn (1992).

testimonies of three of Wolf's musical and production collaborators, Bill Griffin, Nina Gerber, and Mike Auldridge, who responded with knowing touches of spatial architectural nuance at her calls for a little "magic."

Clearly, in the countercultural generation, most music artists moved from a communal Dionysian aesthetic of the early folk revival, when they learned their performance crafts, toward a recording approach that betrayed increasing Apollonian concerns. Yet, studio music performance and recording was largely a collaborative activity and individual contributors maintained different attitudes toward and capabilities for utilizing technology. Therefore, in addition, I try to explore each contributor's relationship to technology and their respective contribution to the sounds of a generation.

"LIVING IN THE COUNTRY": THE PASTORAL IN WESTERN MUSIC, ITS VARIOUS FORMS THROUGH THE AGES, AND ITS PLACE IN COUNTERCULTURAL MUSIC

> "Someone put it very well. It may have been M——. He said the great American theme was space. We've always wandered in this space. Anybody who's written a song like '[Me &] Bobby McGhee' is at home in that space, understands the beauty of it, the majesty of it, the spiritualness of it, and the loneliness of it."
>
> --Unidentified narrator, *Kris Kristofferson: Pilgrim: His Life and His Work.*

As the above quote captures relatively succinctly, the vastness of the North American landmass has dwarfed its human populations and inspired awe in the latter for as long as there has been documented contact between the two. Better cartography and increased mobility, despite increasing physical and conceptual accessibility of that land, have not managed to dispel the awe and the mystique; better documentation and artistic rendering, in fact, have made much of this spectacular expanse amenable to the common person's

awe. A number of human processes might be at work here. Is it because humans, or at least some kinds of humans, have a psychological need for unpopulated spaces, spaces still open to population by alternative ideological and idealist regimes of the mind, of daydreams, of utopian desires? Is it also because the putatively epistemic shift to postmodernity did not make this breed and this need extinct?

North America was clearly the largest landmass on earth with the smallest aboriginal human population.[14] It has long been the "greener pasture" object of desire of migrants moving both eastwards and westwards over a span of centuries, even millennia.[15] While vastness of space may not have been the first thing to strike hunters crossing eastwards from the Siberian cold desert over the Bering land bridge, subsequent immigrants, especially European settlers looking West from the Eastern Seaboard, have found that vastness impossible to ignore. Even though in the earlier days of their occupation of the new territories this awe often took the form of terror, a fear of "the howling wilderness," there were many who celebrated the verdant land as a reprieve from the overflowing cities of the old world, their New World replicas, and the attendant evils of modernism. Artists, musicians, and intellectuals, especially, repeatedly celebrated America's open spaces as anything ranging from proof of divinity to a playground where men could recover manhood lost in the decaying urban worlds, whether of the Old World or of the Eastern Seaboard metropolises that aimed to mirror those across the Atlantic.

[14] This is a relative assessment based on the size of the landmass and the relative size of the partly documented historical populations. It is a comparative judgment that most immigrants likely have had compared to the larger landmasses of Africa and Asia, both with larger and better recognized indigenous populations and long histories of civilization.

[15] Although the green that has been the object of desire of subscribers to the other version of "the American Dream," many of whom have been Westward migrants, has clearly been in a more collectible form. The two contrasting lusts for green were the subject of a number of country rock songs, most prominently the Eagles' "The Last Resort."

Clearly both competing tendencies have existed in European immigrants—on the one hand to build America in the image of their European homelands, matching its glories in commerce and art and partaking of the attendant material urban comforts and sophisticated airs, and, on the other, to seek in the new found land a distinctiveness that justified their long journeys and continuing toil and trouble on the new shores. The latter quest repeatedly has often elaborated on some Old World ideal of the pastoral, although now often stretched to take into account the vastness and distinctive variety of North American natural spaces. In specific periods and in specific enclaves, one or the other tendency has dominated. Seeking and finding either, at different times, has each been identified as "the American Dream." Even those in the former camp, the backbone of official America, have not failed to recognize the ideological and artistic worth of subscription to the latter vision of America. Up until the late countercultural era, pastoralism had managed good press.[16] Witness for example the hallowed grounds that Walt Whitman and Henry David Thoreau, or the Hudson River Valley school of painters, or Aaron Copland have occupied in American intellectual and artistic history.

Pastoralism has been a significant and recurring theme in Western vernacular and art music for millennia. Yet, even in more contemporary post-Renaissance Western art music, perhaps the most elaborately treatised music in known human history, pastoralist techniques remain some of the least investigated. The correlations suggested between musical maneuvers and related pastoral effects historically rarely have been more than loose associations between typologies of sounds and mood states. Such limited existing

[16] The countercultural era gave way to the postmodern era that, many scholars suggest, is characterized by an epochal shift in existential and intellectual stance of dwellers of the emergent "global village." Countercultural utopianism, and its attendant idealist daydreaming or escapism, has widely, perhaps irretrievably, given way to a postmodernist acceptance, even celebration, of the "here and now," of the world "as is." Escape thus has become at worst a four-letter word, and at best the name of a popular SUV (Sports Utility Vehicle) model that one uses for a weekend "getaway."

analyses, almost always from the field of Western classical music, stand in contradistinction to fresher modes of analysis that some authors have proposed from disciplinary sidelines, especially analysis of material sonicality and spatializing aspects of sound. It is the latter methodologies that this work extends.

Clearly, some of the principles and associations of establishing the spatial correlates of the scene of a musical recording during the countercultural period were borrowed from a history of similar associations established in live and recorded musics that preceded it. Certain timbres, for example, have historically been associated with specific pastoral scenes in programmatic art music and some of these or similar timbres continued to be utilized in recorded countercultural pastoral music. Among aerophones, the oboe, the English horn, the bassoon, and the flute, and among struck idiophones, the glockenspiel, the celesta, and the xylophone, are just some of the instruments that have retained usefulness for evoking specific pastoral imagery. How are these instruments able to evoke specific natural imagery? Is it just through their historical association with specific scenes in programmatic music? Or does their sound overlap with particular human or non-human sounds heard, or expected to be heard, in specific natural habitats? If the latter is at least partly the case, under which sonic and musical categories do these overlapping attributes fall? These aspects will be considered in Chapter 4 under the rubric of timbre, with an examination of the respective contributions of timbral gestalt and microcomponents.

As a major aim of this dissertation is to put a finger on the late countercultural mind's specific desires, it is helpful to distinguish between three often conflated themes—agrarianism, pastoralism, and what has been termed the "wilderness ethic." Traditional analyses of Western classical music usually allude to pastoralist themes while

those of revivalist folk music generally find an agrarian attraction. No doubt these themes did also overlap in the mind and works of counterculturalists. Still, despite overlaps, and as the aforementioned assessment of Kris Kristofferson's music suggests, it is essential to recognize that late countercultural interest was in wide open spaces, often wild spaces whose unfenced freedom could unleash the same in the sojourner. Researching the more accessible ancillary evidence regarding the types of spaces sought by counterculturalists helps us approach the more abstruse musical and sonic evidence with better focus. In chapter 4, I split this additional non-sonic evidence under multiple subcategories (see Table 4.1), and demonstrate how this evidence can help us more clearly understand the quality and character of spaces sought.

SPACE WAS THE PLACE!: CENTRALITY OF SPACE IN THE COUNTERCULTURAL IMAGINATION AS EVIDENCED IN SPATIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF LATE COUNTERCULTURAL MUSIC

A fixation with greener pastures and wide open Western terrestrial spaces was not the only manifestation of the centrality of space within the late countercultural zeitgeist. Disappointment with the constraining urban spaces of modern reality, with which some activist branches of the counterculture had already had disillusioning trysts in the early countercultural era, spurred a search for alternative spaces of all ilks, in life and in visual and sonic fantasies.

Countercultural real communal spaces from Haight-Ashbury to various nature communes and New Age communities have been well documented as have been the widely eclectic, recombinant spaces and identities—that drew upon everything from

Indian to Amerindian spaces and identities—constructed within these.[17] Fairly well described are also the African identities and spaces sought by African Americans during the mid- to late-countercultural era.[18] Inadequately considered, however, remain the musical methodologies for invoking such fantasy-tinged cultural spaces. Therefore, it would be useful here to briefly consider how music is able to evoke things outside of itself.

Alan Moore has recently summarized the theoretical standpoints on the transmission of meaning in music in a chapter dedicated to the topic in a book on a proposed musicology for rock music (Moore 2001: 154-187). In 1956, Leonard B. Meyer had proposed two modes in which this might happen: the "absolutist" and the "relativist," which Moore adapts as the roughly equivalent "syntactical" and "analogue" modes (Moore 2001: 28). The first- mentioned of the categories used by each theorist refers to the meaning contained in the physical and structural relationships of the elements of the music itself and the latter categories of both binaries refer to the ways in which music, through analogy or other ways of reflection, refers to the "extramusical world of concepts, actions, emotional states, and character." Absolutist or syntactical meaning clearly has been the overriding concern of classical music analysts attempting to read abstract transcendence over mere cultural or individual functionality into the identified "masterworks" of the Western art music canon. As the Western academic concept of music analysis has followed from this activity, clearly there has been limited investigation of the latter categories of meanings, which have proven much harder to pin down. Very few among popular music audiences, however, share music analysts' training

[17] For appropriations of traits deemed Native American and their integration into countercultural identities see Deloria (2002; 2006) and Miller (2002).
[18] See Kofsky (2003); Baskerville (2003); Saul (2003); and Anderson (2007).

or attitude. Yet they find meaning in music. While syntax, though not expertly comprehended, might contribute to this meaning, it is the associative or analogue mode of meaning transmission that has overwhelming importance in popular audiences' meaning-making listening experience and the mode with which I concern myself in this work, with the caveat that all conclusions offered are largely interpretive.

That, of course, is true of all analysis. What distinguishes the absolutist approach applied to the analysis of the Western art music canon is largely the shared reified approach to handling the already hallowed material at hand—"music theory" then works as an unquestioned and little problematized title for this approach. Comparatively limited attention has, however, been directed toward the referential mode of musicking in art music. From Leonard Meyer's summary list of these referents—"extramusical world of *concepts*, *actions*, *emotional states*, and *character* [emphases mine]"—it becomes clear that even within this mode of analysis physical *space* or humanly-colored *place* have not been commonly analyzed referents. Notwithstanding the lack of critical attention, space and place have been, in Western art music and vernacular music, not only common fixations but necessary backdrops for any of the other references.

Space vs. Place

Space, in its all encompassing infiniteness, is a Western scientific conception and is defined by the Webster dictionary as "a boundless three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction."[19] In that sense it is the domain of the hard sciences and mathematics. Place, on the other hand, is the purview of more humanistic, experientially-centered fields of enquiry—anthropology, cultural

[19] By that I do not mean that this idea does not overlap at all with the conceptualizations of other peoples.

geography, phenomenology. In this broad distinction, place is what is experienced while space is the infinite *a priori*; place is the particular embodied experience and senseful knowledge of a delimited environment out of the undefined expanse of space.

While most scholars get mired in the limited ideas of the embodied experience of places through human bodily presence within them, it is very important, especially in view of my project and the ones of pastoralist recordists, that we acknowledge that embodied presence in a place is not a prerequisite for experiencing a version of it. That is precisely the reason for my introduction of the concept of knowledge, a partly sensual and partly conceptual sense of place that is not predicated in multisensual and complete presence or envelopment within a place in the here and now. A partial sense of or allusion to place presented through one or a limited number of sensual and/or conceptual modalities is fleshed out by the experiencing mind through recruitment of other senses and memories of experiences within other lived or imagined places. That is precisely the way places in the American West are known to billions around the world. It is the primary mode of place experience for the virtual tourist.

According to French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, a leading thinker on the subject of space, all space is also *produced*; it is a principal feature of second nature, an effect of the action of societies on first nature (Lefebvre 1992: 207). Lefebvre is not negating the existence of natural, physical, or absolute space outside of human perception, but only asserting that human experience of space is always a culturo-historically situated phenomenon. Lefebvre distinguishes this experienced or *lived space* from the two other categories he proposes—*perceived space* and *conceived space*. The realm of the lived space, the only space that a historically and socio-culturally situated subject can experience or know, for Lefebvre, mostly overlaps with the realm of representational

space where *non-verbal* symbols and signs, historically accumulated, impinge upon the sense data from a *perceived* physical space and *verbal* significations of a *conceived* space.[20]

> Representational spaces, on the other hand, need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history—in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual human being belonging to that people. Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel….It embraces the loci of passion…it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic.
>
> If this distinction [between perceived, conceived, and lived or representational space] were applied, we should have to look at history itself in a new light. We should have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with that of their relationships—with each other, with practice, and with ideology (Lefebvre 1992: 41-42).

What Lefebvre is effectively doing is partly appropriating for *space* some of the senses associated with phenomenological and anthropological definitions of *place*. Cultural anthropologist Keith H. Basso's and ethnomusicologist Stephen Feld's recent anthology *Senses of Place* draws both on ethnographic and phenomenological perspectives to ascribe to place a primacy in human experience of the environment. While in general the work is a compilation of "fine-grained" ethnographic descriptions of human experiences of their particular surroundings in different parts of the world, phenomenologist Edward S. Casey and cultural theorist Clifford Geertz help illustrate the common thread running through the disparate particular descriptions of human experience—the experience of locality of place before that of the abstraction of space.

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[20] Gestalt psychologists such as David Katz and phenomenologist Edward Casey (considered below) problematize the innocence of perception by including under the category of perception some ideas of experience. For Katz, perception implies the experience of sensory data, which depends on the "condition of the entire organism," conceivably including not only affect and attitude, but also culturo-historic situation that influences affect and attitude. David Katz, *Gestalt Psychology: Its Nature and Significance*, trans. Robert Tyson (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950), quoted in Alan Williams (1980: 58). , "Is Sound Recording Like a Language?" *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980), 58. Casey posits that perception of place from the get go is not merely sensual but senseful (Casey 1996).

Casey asserts that only in the "natural attitude" following from the post-Enlightenment Western scientific cosmology, based in the concepts forwarded by the likes of Newton and Kant, are space and time universal and general and place merely particular, mapped on by experience on the pre-existing conceptual grid of space and time (Casey 1996: 14). Casey, a phenomenologist deeply interested in ethnographic descriptions of emplaced experience, argues for the primacy of place in "embodied experience" of human surroundings. Both phenomenologists (after Husserl and Merleau-Ponty) and ethnographers do find experience starting in perception through the sensory organs. Casey, however, holds that the starting point in the experience of surroundings is more than mere "sensations," "sense data," or "impressions." The experience of the environment begins with these inputs feeding into an already present "sense," a sense of place. Husserl had described this sense as a "primordial depth" and Merleau-Ponty as every experience's "own horizon." For Casey, as for ethnographers, the "sensory is senseful," *ab initio* (Casey 1996: 17). Yet, Casey fails to acknowledge the structuring sway on experience of an absolutist cosmology such as the modern scientific "natural attitude"—once internalized, the scientific understanding of space, extra-terrestrial and terrestrial, does hold forth an inescapable grid on which all local sense of surrounding environment must necessarily be mapped. If that is part of the modern human condition, is this overarching grid ever retracted from the realm of experience? Perhaps only in psychologically altered states, which often have been accompaniments to spatial seekings through music, especially in the heyday of the counterculture. Chemicals, dance, trance, and religion have all variously contributed.

Feld and Basso, in their introduction to *Senses of Place*, also provide an overview of the significant contributions of cultural and humanistic geographers in charting human

experience of environment. The overarching focus of cultural geographers might be described as concern with the ideas of "in placeness" versus "out of placeness," "insideness" versus "outsideness," "rootedness" versus "uprootedness," "enfranchisement" versus "estrangement." Central to these concerns is a sense of entitlement or lack thereof to a territory, a place to call one's own. Feld and Basso summarize this well:

> In this light it is hardly surprising that anthropologists have come to worry less about broad philosophical and humanistic terms, than about places as sites of power struggles or about displacement as histories of annexation, absorption, and resistance (Feld and Basso 1996: 5).

The lived reality of power struggles over territory might be definitive of some peoples' relationship to place and space; equally definitive are cosmologies, whether based in traditional or modern scientific thought. Therefore, when deciding whether primacy belongs to space or to place, we must first answer the question, "for whom?" We need to specify which reality and which cosmology we are interrogating.

Native peoples' conceptual structuring of experience around cosmologies defined traditionally by a much more localized cosmos than the one revealed by modern science, can be expected to structure their experience of environment. The sense associated with the idea of place as discussed above can be expected to be their primary mode of making sense of the environment. Western counterculturists, mostly affluent whites with education in modern scientific outlook toward space in general and geographically and geologically defined terrestrial places in specific, by contrast, couldn't help but superimpose the immediate sense of place on a shared cosmological matrix of space and time—their epistemological *a priori* common denominators of experience. To them the Grand Canyon, for instance, couldn't help but be the canyon of the Western Colorado

River on the North American landmass on the third planet in a specific solar system in the Milky Way galaxy. All immediately incoming sensual data was mapped onto some degree of cognizance of this assumed underlying schematic. Yet, sensual experience has a way of overwhelming and usurping knowledged experience. And this exactly is the suspension of belief for which both the surreal and the hyper-real modes of communicating and sensing aim. Both have an attitude that hopes for a "magical" transcendence of the real, the mundane. We will soon return to these fixations in the sonic art of the counterculture.

Returning now to the idea of place and emplacement, we need to examine the ideas of home or hearth and the contrasting concept of the cosmos, not merely as concepts but as contrasting desires that structure human experience and drive human endeavor. Humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan is acknowledged as one of the leaders in thought that has in late twentieth-century switched the emphasis to the latter, i.e. the cosmos (Tuan 1999); yet, the area remains thinly explored and theorized. In most literature, people not in their rightful place are regarded as displaced—migrants, hobos, tramps, the homeless. Not enough has been said of those who, perhaps because of their advantaged lives and affluence, take their inherited territories for granted but, having problems with the encumbrances and straitjackets that "come with the territory," yearn for the better, or sometimes the best. Western counterculturists clearly fall into this category. Of course, their search led them to environments which already had a sense of place about them, which imbued countercultural pilgrims' experiences with some of that predefined sense, and which in turn were instilled with some distinctive sense of place by these seekers. Yet the most important aspect of the relationship of these humans and the locales with which they interacted, whether through traveling in body or in mind, was the

space left for the possibility of rescripting the sense of place. Rescripting itself proceeds neither from a tabula rasa nor is it an entirely individual project; as pointed out by Lefebvre, history and myth both provide and, to varying extents, limit the palette from which to color the present already textured canvas, which already has some broad physical outlines of landscapes drawn on it. Yet, the space claimed for the possibilities of imagination was a defining characteristic of the counterculture.

While counterculturists cast a wide net that returned a varied catch, they were not specifically interested in the historical moorings or contextual meaning of their motley haul of myths and realities. Philip Deloria, writing about "counterculture Indians" has proposed three traits as characteristic of counterculturists' liberal appropriations from other cultures—whether Indian, East Indian, African, or others. The first was a crisis of meaning and, therefore, emphasis on interpretation. Increasing doubts about god, authenticity, and reality itself led to serious questioning of anything's or anyone's appeal to any of those concepts. "Nothing is real!" the Beatles surmised in their summer of love fantasia "Strawberry Fields Forever." Linguistics told the counterculturists that language was an arbitrary system of signs. Hence, there was no essential difference between modernist high-culture and vulgar consumerist culture; the differences were arbitrary and artificially constructed and sustained through language. The second generational defining trait was sustained questioning of the idea of foundational truth, and the third was the approach of fragmenting symbols and reassembling them in creative, sometimes random, pastiches (Deloria 2002: 159-188). Expressions of this attitude could be seen extending from Andy Warhol's pop art to hippie poster art. Archie Green finds the attitude prominently in evidence in Austin, Texas' progressive country music scene that had its heyday from 1972 to 1978. Green points out how the cowboy was able to work as a

mascot for both working-class rural rednecks and literate poet-philosophers because of the semantic looseness it had acquired through its "representational," not real, history (Green 1981). Hence, it is misleading to see progressive country music's or the counterculture's agendas as having much to do with addressing history or its specific issues. Yet we will see that they did that too.

In the hands and minds of countercultural weavers of visions and dreamers, i.e. cultural producers and consumers respectively (to the extent that that distinction is clear or useful), utopia was something to be sought, and something encompassing the best traits of all they knew, how they knew it.[21] They were not academic researchers trying to pin down an *emic* reality. Rather they were free-spirited artists working in multiple media drawing raw materials from various emplaced ethnic and regional sources but guided by an expansive vision of cosmic possibilities.[22] In the process, they apparently discovered the limitations and possibilities of various media in fixing meaning or, preferably, leaving space for interpretation. Suggesting and evoking lucidly was generally still desired, although without constraining the room left for interpretation. And this might be one reason for the ascent of music to a position of centrality as a definitive facet of Western popular culture during this period. Although the colorfulness of the communal live music

[21] This concern with the best is echoed through much of that era, perhaps the swan song of high modernity, whether within a specific communal culture such as the identified youth counterculture or within the works of contemporary individuals on its fringe; Robert Pirsig, author of the surprise runaway bestseller of that generation, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, is an example of the latter whose concern with "What is best?" rather than "What's new?" resounded with a whole generation. The book became a bestseller across the world, selling not only to overt counterculturists but to those who shared in modernity's and Pirsig's concern with a "metaphysics of quality," and was still one of the books always available in pirated copies from sidewalk venders across India in the late 1990s when I was last there. The continuing resonance of Western modernity's general and deeper human concerns with the educated cosmopolites in the Third World only solidifies my belief that while globalization is a further reaching phenomenon, postmodernity might largely be one impacting academics and college-educated Westerners subscribing to that paradigm that nonetheless lacks epistemic sway.

[22] A similar appropriation of elements of other cultures by punks would receive much better academic press later and become the basis of subculture theory, thanks to the works of the likes of Dick Hebdige and the Birmingham School (Hebdige 1979). But of course, punks were seen as the disenfranchised of society, unlike the middle-class dropouts and "slackers" of the preceding young generation.

culture of the early countercultural period, from protest folk to psychedelic extravaganzas at festivals and concerts, now distracts most contemporary commentators anthologizing that era, this was also the period in which recorded studio music became pivotal to the lives of college-aged and older youth. One clear index of this ascendancy was that in 1968 the sales of the long-play album, the medium preferred by the album-oriented-rock youth constituency that had been emerging since 1965, for the first time eclipsed those of singles. It was the 45 rpm single that primarily had served the pre-teen and teen rock and roll audience in the preceding decade, while the album's greatest popularity in that period had been with the adult easy listening crowd. Also, in historical descriptions of no other cultural phenomenon of the twentieth-century has music occupied such a central position. While one aspect of this dissertation is to recognize the role of technology in enhancing the materiality of sound in countercultural music, a fact that increased the denotative power of sound, audition remains a faculty that cannot as precisely fix meaning to sense data as can vision, especially for those with a post-Enlightenment training and orientation.[23] It still left space for interpretation. Could that be the reason that musical recordings rather than film emerged as the medium more exploited for the countercultural pastoral?

Film did dabble with the countercultural pastoral but never in a dedicated way. There have been no parallels to the catalogs of dedicated musical pastoralists such as John Denver, Michael Martin Murphey, Ian Tyson, Loggins and Messina, Jimmy Buffett, or Kate Wolf in the film industry. The "hippie Western" is a recognized genre of the period but only a few films fall under that rubric. None had a broad sway over contemporary mainstream culture as did, for instance, James Taylor's "Sweet Baby

[23] Feld has discussed the primacy of audition in making precise sense of the environment among the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea. See Feld 1996.

James," the Eagles' "Take it Easy," "Peaceful Easy Feeling," and "Desperado," Loggins and Messina's "Love Song" and "House on Pooh Corner," and Michael Martin Murphey's "Wildfire." The success of the film that launched the "hippie Western" genre in earnest, *Easy Rider* (Columbia, 1969), was ascribed to the element of road adventure, and the genre of "road movies" soon forked off into the "adventure" territory. Despite its limited success compared to pastoral countercultural music, "green cinema," however, has drawn more critical attention.

Despite the variable specificity, and hence place-like defined qualities, of terrestrial or extra-terrestrial environments limned in this music, the common denominator in countercultural music was an attempt to imbue these with a sense of spaciousness, a wide openness and ample room for explorations of outlines, which stood in contrast with constrained and ossified urban, peopled, architectural places. In a sense, these projects were always escapist. Utopia could not be built over crumbling cities. America, for European immigrants, itself had been a similar project and so had been the physical Westward expansion. The escape was always to some place less cluttered with people, their artifacts, their histories. All of these countercultural projects could fall under the broader definition of the pastoral in the sense of the simple and the uncomplicated; the space sought did not have to be open meadows or grazing pastures.[24] An uncomplicated spaciousness could be located in a childhood pastoral as in Loggins and Messina's "House at Pooh Corner," or the Moody Blues' "In a Child's World," "Voices in the Sky," and "Through the eyes of a Child," or Michael Martin Murphey's "Circles of

[24] For a treatment of the types of pastoral, see Gifford (1999). Gifford borrows from Leo Marx to identify the earliest form of the pastoral in the West as a literary genre, a formal type that existed as the only type of pastoral until around 1610 and always featured supposed shepherds speaking about life in the country. "No shepherd, no pastoral," is how Marx (1964) characterizes this uncomplicated version of the pastoral, which he labeled pastoral of the sentiment, sentimental pastoral, or escapist pastoral. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, quoted in Gifford (1999: 1).

Life" and "Boy from the Country," or Gram Parsons' "Hickory Wind," or Carly Simon's "It was so Easy."[25] It could be placed in outer space as on music ranging from Pharoah Sanders' avant-garde jazz on "Astral Traveling," to Lonnie Liston Smith's cosmic funk on "Expansions," to Mahavishnu Orchestra's jazz rock on "Earth Ship," and Jean-Luc Ponty's fusion on "Cosmic Messenger." It could be located within spaces with Eastern overtones as in Pharoah Sanders' "Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt" and "Japan," The Beatles' "Land Across the Universe," the Moody Blues' "Visions of Paradise" and "Om," Alice Coltrane's "Blue Nile," and Mahavishnu Orchestra's "A Lotus on Irish Streams." It could even be located within the city borders with just a switch of perspective away from the mire of modern grind; alternative perspectives could be borrowed from the child within as in Moody Blues' "Eyes of a Child" or "Voices in the Sky," or Loggins and Messina's "House on Pooh Corner," or the Moody Blues' "Tuesday Afternoon." While ideal *cultural* spaces were often sought in communal life by counterculturists, individual explorations, whether in solitude or in the presence of physical company, of *physical* and *psychological* spaces were more often the subjects of countercultural music.

Non-terrestrial space, as mentioned above, was often, although not always, cast in a pastoral sense. It had, in fact, been a major American and Western preoccupation at least since the beginnings of the space race in the 1950s. Both in countercultural and mainstream contemporaneous music, space emerged as a commonly explored theme, in

[25] Gifford (1999) notes that there are three broad senses in which a work may be defined as a pastoral one. (1) In the specific historical sense, pastoral is used to refer to the literary convention utilizing shepherds' idealized descriptions of their life on the pastures (as noted above). (2) In the general sense, any work that describes the country with an implicit or explicit contrast to the urban. "A poem about trees in the city could also be called pastoral because it focuses upon nature in contrast to the urban." (Gifford 1999: 3). (3) Use of pastoral as a pejorative dismissal of a work. "House at Pooh Corner" and "In a Child's World" and "Tuesday Afternoon" could be viewed as pastoral in the second sense, as they use a child's point of view to focus on the simple and the green within the city. All three songs also can be seen as examples of a simpler

words and in sound. Space Age bachelor pad music from the 1950s has recently been explored by a number of scholars. The various dimensions of the fascination with extraterrestrial space during the counterculture era, when it became an even bigger fixation, surprisingly have not been that well investigated.[26]

Clearly, in the latter era, there was a sense of continuity between extraterrestrial outer space, terrestrial pastoral spaces, and the psychological inner spaces opened up by psychedelic chemicals and sounds, most prominently in the music of Jimi Hendrix, and that continuity is also to some extent reflected in the analysis of the musical representations of these spaces. The epithet "cosmic" was dropped more often in the era's youth argot than was the psychotomimetic agent that lent the era's most spectacular music, acid rock, its prefix. Yet there were many different genres, all sharing similar cosmic spatial fixations, that employed sometimes overlapping but often different strategies to invoke interstellar spaces. Pink Floyd's "Interstellar Overdrive," "Set the Controls for the Heart of the Sun," and "Eclipse," the Jimi Hendrix Experience's "Third Stone from the Sun" and "South Saturn Delta," and the Moody Blues' "Speeding Through the Universe," might share some musical and sonic techniques toward that end that are different from Pharoah Sanders' "Astral Traveling" and Lonnie Liston Smith's "Cosmic Funk," themselves quite distinct from Gram Parsons' "cosmic American music" landscapes and Michael Martin Murphey's and his Austin buckaroo cohort's "cosmic cowboy music." "Astral Traveling," nominally about an extraterrestrial journey, is most representative of Pharoah Sanders', Lonnie Liston Smith's, and Leon Thomas' Afro-centric terrestrial soundscapes and clearly also inspired and overlapped in musical and

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view of the world that children have, identified as "the pastoral of childhood" by Peter Marinelli (Gifford 1999: 4) and Holl (1980:47).

[26] For 1950s' fascination with extraterrestrial space see Taylor (2001); for extraterrestrial space themes' continuation in 1970s' glam rock and afro-futurist music, see McLeod (2003).

sonic techniques with Santana's "Eternal Caravan of Love." The same zeitgeist guided all these explorations and the overlaps are clearer in some works that easily flow between different fantastic spaces. Signally in the music of the Moody Blues, especially on the albums *Days of the Future Passed, In Search of the Lost Chord,* and *To Our Children's Children's Children*, the continuity between the pastoral[27] spaces of childhood, of nostalgia, of spiritual exotic lands, of psychedelic excursions, and of the cosmos, is clearly evident. A tag of symphonic or progressive rock only artificially separates this music from, for instance, "country rock" group the Eagles' "Journey of the Sorcerer,"; the scoring of the string section of the latter by roots-identified musician David Bromberg could only have encouraged that non-musical artificial distinction. Similarly guitarist Mick Ronson's extraterrestrial space invocations on David Bowie's albums can only artificially be divorced from his terrestrial ones for Pure Prairie League's "Boulder Skies," for which Ronson scored the strings.

There has been little research attempting to define continuities between different late countercultural musical camps. Not only in terms of musical analysis, but also intellectually, spatial fixations and constructions of the counterculture remain largely underconsidered. As someone interested in all of counterculture's music, irrespective of genre (although not of quality), I venture in this dissertation an attempt at illumining such overlapping spatial obsessions of different countercultural musical camps as also the similarities between their methodologies, sonic or otherwise, of invoking a variety of spaces.

Let us return now to an idea broached at the start of this section, the suggestion that improved cartography and increased accessibility may not be enough to dispel the

[27] Pastoral in the sense of retreat to a simpler time and space.

mystique of an expansive, relatively thinly-populated terrain, a psychological terrain with no canonical history, a tabula rasa of sorts for the workings of myth. Cosmic spaces, just like America's terrestrial spaces earlier, once opened to initial physical and intellectual access, became amenable to population by fantasy. In counterculture's music, as in its imagination, very often pastoral spaces of different provenances merged. The music of Pharoah Sanders and Lonnie Liston Smith, for example, seamlessly segued from limnings of utopian African landscapes to cosmic ones. Similarly Carlos Santana's multicultural ensembles borrowed from Sanders and countless other inspirational sources to chart mystical soundscapes presented as anything from pan-Latin to vaguely middle-Eastern/north African (as on *Caravanserai*).

In other music from the era, contrasting spaces and moods were juxtaposed, especially threatening, dark, non-pastoral spaces with comforting known pastoral ones. On a lyrical and musical level, such music may have borrowed from earlier Western vernacular music, such as the widely sung white hymn "Wayfaring Stranger," which moves from looming minor-key desolate imagery to more cozy and warm major-key visions of home. On a sonic level, however, late countercultural studio music now had a larger vocabulary of spatial codes to vivify such spatial journeys. The aforementioned studio recording of "Journey of the Sorcerer" by the Eagles, for instance, starts with minor-key evocations of a medieval journey (suggested by the titular "sorcerer") through ominous, mysterious soundscapes, ornamented with ideas and spatial sounds redolent of space movies of the era as also of the more overt astral space rock of artists such as Jimi Hendrix, Pink Floyd, and the Moody Blues. The Eagles' 1975 instrumental fades out, however, to the lilting strains of major-key B section of the old-time song, "Soldier's Joy," one most post-folk revival musicians associated with the revivalist movement when

such old time tunes entered urban repertoires and with a homecoming to a carefree rustic setting suggested in the highly variable lyrics of various versions.[28] The fact that this Bernie Leadon composition, or at least its foreboding minor-key section, also became the theme music to BBC TV series *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* can be viewed both as a suggestion of the fluidity of spatial conceptions during the late countercultural era and as an indication of their complexity. No longer was the counterculture seeking only an agrarian idyll or a Walden by which to settle down; it understood life as an intellectual and physical journey through dissimilar spaces, some unknown and exciting to explore and others better known and comforting, but neither type offering a possibility of or incentive to hang on to forever. While being a desperately idealistic seeking of better spaces, late counterculture and its music was equally a coming to terms with life's existential truths, especially the ephemeral relationship of humans to any found space; in Danny O'Keefe's words, each was "just another town, along the road" (O'Keefe 1971).

As mentioned above with regard to "Journey of the Sorcerer," counterculturists often relied on strains of music, among other vehicles, to be transported into other realms, other fantastic spaces. For the first time in history though, the strains were now materially substantive and dependable. And they were not mere vehicles either. It was no longer just the notes or scales and their historical associations through preceding musics with specific places or mood states that helped audiences imagine other places. The bristling and enveloping materiality of the recorded sounds reproduced through hi-fi, sometimes even quadraphonic, systems now constructed around the listener the sonic parameters that

[28] Greil Marcus, in *Invisible Republic*, details the kind of mystical, pre-modern America sought by the folkies who had been weaned on Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music*. "Soldier's Joy," one of the most widely known tunes in the English-speaking world since the eighteenth century was not on that anthology, but many other dance tunes appeared under the rubric "social music" across 2 LPs. Many lyrical stanzas have been used over the familiar melody, many of them being "floating verses." The joyous tone of

one would expect of specific physical spaces. Was there a total correspondence between these sonic parameters constructed in studio recordings and those of the aural environments they invoked? Perhaps not! Suspension of disbelief on the part of the audiences remained an essential ingredient in the equation, and many elements helped the audiences reach that state.

Clearly, there were often additional non-sonic cues regarding the program of the musical project. The most obvious ones were in the lyrics and in the album cover art, which became extremely elaborate during this period. Sometimes, the project of the music was further elaborated through prominent advertising campaigns, as was the case with the Eagles' concept-album *Desperado,* an almost cinematic Western presented as a rock opera in a record album format. In another instance, an exceptionally cinematic opera on record, Paul Kennerley's *The Legend of Jesse James*, eventually inspired a non-musical movie, *The Last Days of Frank and Jesse James*, even sharing some of the cast. A certain type of Western space alluding music, through use and evolution over the course of a number of Western movies, acquired additional visual associations—for instance, compare the continuities between Bruce Langhorne's score for Peter Fonda's *The Hired Hand* (1971) and Ry Cooder's soundtracks for the 1980s movies *The Long Riders* (1980) and *Paris, Texas* (1984). In still other cases, artists through their lifestyle choices and public campaigns, affirmed their seeking of pastoral spaces, spaces they offered through their music and hoped to preserve for posterity through consciousness-generating campaigns. Kate Wolf's adoption as home base of the California wine country, whose spaces she indefatigably eulogized in song, John Denver's, Michael Martin Murphey's, and Kenny Loggins' environmental campaigns for keeping the West

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the lyrics is consistent, however, with such stanzas as "dance all night, and fiddle all day." For a brief history of the song, see lcweb2.loc.gov/afc/afccc/soldiersjoy

wildlife-friendly, and Don Henley's Walden Woods Project are just a few prominent examples of such extramusical announcements of the musics' pastoral manifestos. In fact, even before these artists made explicit their environmental or historiographic projects, in the early 1970s there was a wholesale movement to the Rockies West of country rock musicians who repeatedly eulogized the region in song and attempted to capture its landscapes in sound.[29]

With a terrestrial terrain also, the increasing physical and conceptual access to the American hinterland in mid-twentieth century, which had started centuries earlier, only served to make real American spaces the perfect canvases for virtual dreamscapes. These fantastic landscapes, long elaborated in literature, visual art, film, song lyrics, and music, now were also made available for experience through material sonicality. West was generally the direction that these spaces' location was imagined, even if one's vantage point was on the California coast. While the larger history of white contact with and attitude toward the American West has been one of conquest, of vanquishing the wilderness and its savage denizens and settling the territories,[30] in the counterculture's ideologies, which borrowed from those of the previous generation of contrarians, the beats, a sense of freedom, while physically or virtually situated in ideal spaces, was contingent upon *movement through* them. The West was not a territory upon which to lay physical claim but rather a vast space to be experienced as it came at one. Yet there were distinct differences between the ways Western spaces were experienced in the 1940s by

[29] From the early to mid-1970s, such songs include "Colorado" (1970) by the Flying Burrito Brothers' Rick Roberts (who later settled in Boulder and started Firefall there), "Colorado" (1972) by Stephen Stills' Manassas, "Guess He'd Rather be in Colorado (Danoff/Nivert)(1971)," "Rocky Mountain High (1972)," "Starwood in Aspen (1972)," and song of Wyoming by John Denver (who settled in Aspen and was named Poet Laureate of Colorado in 1977). Michael martin Murphey also moved to Colorado and programmatically used pictures from the state on the outer and inner sleeves of *Blue Sky, Night Thunder* (1975).

[30] For a synopsis of contemporary reevaluations of white contact with the West, its other denizens, and its environment, see Limerick (1987).

Bobby Troup, the composer of "(Get Your Kicks On) Route 66," in the 1950s by Dean Moriarty and Sal Paradise in Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, in the 1960s by Billy and Wyatt in Peter Fonda's road movie *Easy Rider*, and in the 1970s by Robert Pirsig in *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* and by Jackson Browne on a number of "road and the sky"-themed albums. The teeny-bopping excitement of the former two, where the sounds of the landscape themselves are drowned out by the rushing sights and adrenaline, were by the late countercultural period replaced by the contemplative meditations of a reflective generation that saw movement, through space and through time, as the only existential truth, an insight best expressed in the refrains of the two songs that open Jackson Browne's road movie in sound, *Running on Empty*—the title track and an exceptionally pensive reading of Danny O'Keefe's aforementioned "The Road."

While these themes of life as a contemplative journey through spaces dominate country rock and related musical genres that together were fairly dominant within countercultural artistic expression, they have hardly been investigated as documents of an important intellectual and artistic movement. In contrast, the road movie genre—launched by what loosely might be considered the filmic counterpart of these musical genres, Peter Fonda' *Easy Rider*—has been recognized and investigated at length despite the fact that that ephemeral genre soon shed all elements of philosophical enquiry in favor of sensationalist entertainment, with roads and automobiles as the only bridge.

"OUT RIDING FENCES": HIPPIE HORSE OPERAS AND THE DAWN OF NEW WESTERN HISTORY

As mentioned earlier, in their search for wide open free spaces, counterculturists mostly looked to the directions taken by their historical predecessors who had physically

ventured outwards from the original Eastern Seaboard settlements in North America. While pastoral reimaginings of the South do appear in countercultural lyrics, as in the southern-born Gram Parsons' "Hickory Wind (1968)," James Taylor's "Carolina in My Mind (1968)," Michael Martin Murphey's "Carolina in the Pines (1975)," and almost the whole of Alabama-raised and Florida-based Jimmy Buffett's oeuvre, the South's history was already populated with too many troublesome associations to allow for an unproblematic expunction (Griffin 1985: 10-11; Malone 1979: 128-129; Doyle 2005: 94-119). The West, with its vastness and less troubled official history, therefore seemed a better suited territory for population by myth, both old and recombinant, and fantasy, both collective and individual.

Surely, the area categorized as the American West did offer a geographical expanse greater than that included under the category "the South." But in terms of history, the attractiveness of the West for the work of fantasy and myth as an ostensibly historically unoccupied land was partly based in the greater success of white Western settlers and of Old Western History in exterminating the minority populations of the area. The South, in comparison, had a long history of having drawn significant bad press in mainstream northern media and historiography for its treatment of its chief minority, African Americans, which proved unextinguishable. Thus, it was upon the assumedly unproblematic, unoccupied West of the imagination that a generation of dreamers projected its desires of sanctuary.

Counterculturists, just like pastoralists from other eras, were romantics. They did seek to escape their real world context to find spaces they could populate with their idealistic visions. No doubt their real context, largely as upper middle class whites in a society imagining itself as a post-scarcity one, facilitated their unrealistic flights of fancy.

And every time any of the still-circulating or new musical or filmic product based in that era's romantic desires and communicative codes is bought by a contemporary audience, it is an evidence of the romantic resonance those desires evince in audiences not sharing the same socio-politico-cultural or economic background.[31] It is also evidence of the success of those communicative codes in transcending specific localized historical contexts and trainings based in specific times, places, or cultural settings.

Clearly, the task of rendering aurally a geographical place is a more difficult task than one of doing so through a visual medium. The processes that allow either to be communicated, nonetheless, might be quite similar. As I mentioned earlier with regard to the pastoral backdrop of Gordon Lightfoot's "All I'm After," the processes involved entail training audiences to make associations between physical geographic presences and their aural or visual representations.[32] It is through associative visual training that (visually unimpaired) audiences across the world associate certain landscape and geographical features with the American West or with specific regions within it. If the original representations are inaccurate, however, so are the resulting associations. Thus a number of Italian landscapes used in spaghetti Westerns have been associated by audiences with the American West, and the landscapes of Monument Valley, Utah, through director John Ford's influential fictive films have become associated with West Texas. Most who have never visited the real geographic American West know what it is supposed to look like only through repeated exposure to multiple popular media visual

[31] The Jack Tempchin/Eagles' lyric, "I want to sleep with you in the desert tonight, with a billion stars all around," from the song "Peaceful Easy Feeling (1972)" included on the band's international top-seller *Their Greatest Hits 1971-1975*, for instance, has the same resonance with a contemporary US audience or an English-speaking Indian one, as it did with the counterculture. Still, despite shared desires among romantics, the suggested scenario is given believable reality through material sound.

[32] While the representations do have some correspondence to the actual physical object, they need not; any number of conditioning experiments would suggest that. Renditions of cosmic space in rock music, easily recognized as such by audiences who have never audited such a space in reality, attest to this. Of course,

representations. But those representations, however inaccurate, still serve their purpose. Most humans have psychological needs and desires, whether of spiritual sanctuary or of an adventure-filled playground, that are fulfilled by spaces such as the American West, as defined. Other spaces can, and do, fulfill such desires, but perhaps none does it for as large an audience. The same goes for sonic representations.

Sonic representations, however, perhaps capture and render the sense of a place more allusively, just as do the words that often accompany such sonic renderings. That does not mean that there is necessarily a lesser physical correspondence between the acoustic parameters of a real place and its sonic rendering in a recording than there is between such a space and its visual renderings. It is just that such correspondence is less consciously apprehended or demanded by listeners wishing to be transported to a place alluded to in music. Such correspondence might still be no less important in lending the representation a realistic credibility.

Just as in the case of pastoralism, the earliest artists weaving visions of the West in North American history worked in other media, especially literature and visual art. While mid-nineteenth-century transcendentalists, who ventured westwards to various extents in reality and in reverie—as in Thoreau's setting up camp in his backyard on Walden Pond or Whitman's imaginary romps all the way to the Pacific shore, and the Hudson River Valley school of painters, who ventured only a few miles west into the New York wilderness—became canonized as exemplars of the American mind, a school of American pastoralists or celebrants of the West was late to appear within elite music circles in North America. In fact, counterculturists may well be seen as the first actual

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most of the represented cosmic space, lacking an atmosphere or sound-conducting medium, has no soundscape.

school of *dedicated* pastoralists and Western mythologizers within North American music.

Of course, as I mentioned earlier, the pastoral has been a human fixation for as long as there have been cities.[33] While pastoralism was central to the music of the nineteenth-century Romantic period across Europe, pastoralist desires found expression in American music too. Anthony Philip Henrich (1781-1861), has been identified by Herbert Holl as "the first musician in America to devote a sizeable portion of his interest and concerns to the American landscape of the wilderness and to actually weave this association into the tapestry of his identity" (Holl 1980: 215). Henrich, although he brought a certain level of complexity to pastoral music, was not the first dedicated to such bucolic themes. Holl identifies other genres within poetry and popular sheet music in the nineteenth century that, although not held in critical high esteem, were popular nonetheless. He correctly identifies Stephen Foster's "plantation melodies" themselves as a version of pastoralism (Holl 1980).

It was in the early twentieth century, however, that American art music composition came into its own, largely through allusion to elements distinctive to the New World. The majestic landscape of the continent provided as much inspiration as did the "folk" cultures distinctive to it. Evoking America became an important aspect of art music. While American metropolises did already match European ones in terms of looming manmade edifices, they could not grow fabled histories overnight. For that majesty and intrigue, then, composers such as Charles Ives, William Grant Still, Aaron Copland, and Roy Harris had to turn to the American landscape, which they attempted to render as soundscapes. Denise von Glahn has done an admirable job of addressing this art

[33] Raymond Williams, in *Country and the City*, has charted the history of the binary opposition in the western world from Greek times (Williams 1975).

music pastoral canon (von Glahn 2003). Some of the musical and acoustic maneuvers employed by such art music composers and analyzed in von Glahn's and other analyses also provide interesting comparisons for the later recorded pastoral and Western music of the countercultural era, which, although they expanded the acoustic and musical vocabulary of spatial communications, were not always unaware of this history and did often draw upon this set of earlier options. Counterculture era Western pastoral artists such as Loggins and Messina on recent live performances of "Sailin' the Wind" and "House at Pooh Corner" and Michael Martin Murphey on the album *Sagebrush Symphony*, for instance, meld classical orchestral conventions with the newer communicative codes they had developed during their experimentation in the studios in the early- to mid-1970s. In my analysis of musical and sonic pastoral codes of countercultural studio music in Chapter 3, I will examine such continuities where they are evident.

The romantic artistic expressions of an escapist, ostensibly self-absorbed generation of white middle-class youth have been easy to dismiss on the grounds that they ignored the real issues concerning the actual history of the geo-political spaces to which they allude. Those latter issues became central to New Western History, which in the late 1980s displaced the theretofore hegemonic white-male-authored conventional colonial history of the West. Parallel ascension to dominance in other social sciences of politically-correct historiography discredited any voices that ignored the real issues of racial and gender inequities and environmental ruin. While I have already mentioned and will reiterate that human contemplation should, at least on occasion, be able to transcend issues of human atrocities and their redressals, we will also find that country rock, Afro-

centric avant-garde jazz, and proto-new age ecocentric music were also some of the first to call for such redressal.

Country rock was also one of the genres most concerned with the issues that finally became central to New Western History. Some of the strongest women's voices that addressed issues of domestic oppression and the freedom of the western road and spaces had strong associations with country rock. Rosalie Sorrels, who ran away from a life ruled by the Mormon church in a "Ford Econoline" became Nanci Griffith's and many other "contemporary folk" (an offshoot of country rock) artists' hero.[34] Griffith herself wrote many songs specifically about the ultimately lonesome lure but the existential inescapability of the road in "Cradle of the Interstate (1991)," "The Wing and the Wheel (1986)," and "Late Night Grande Hotel (1991)." Joni Mitchell wrote about the road and traveling on in songs such as "Urge for Going (1967)." Kate Wolf and her producer-accompanist Nina Gerber took on roles in independent music making and production that were rare in the mainstream; Wolf's music and person projected a silent and warm strength that occasionally surfaced with songs that melded allusions to an idyllic Western landscape with strong feminist models as in the song, "She Rises like the Dolphin (1979)." "Women's music" stalwarts recording for Olivia Records, a completely women's enterprise, also sometimes focused on pastoral imagery such as Cris Williamson did on the song "Waterfall (1975)" and the albums *Prairie Fire* (Olivia, 1985) and *Country Blessed* (duo project with Teresa Trull) (Second Wave, 1988).

Similarly, country rockers often took up Native American causes and were also very historically informed as evidenced on Mason Proffit's "Flying Arrow (1971)," Michael Martin Murphey's "Geronimo's Cadillac (1972)," and Eric Taylor's

[34] Sorrels inspired Griffith's song "Ford Econoline" included on *Lone Star State of Mind* (MCA, 1987).

"Deadwood, South Dakota (1988)." Don Henley, summarized the whole counterculture's naïve relationship to Indianism, hippie communes, and dreams of finding paradise in the West juxtaposing it against what would later be the New Western Historian's take on the real history of the West in six verses and just over five minutes on "The Last Resort (1976)."[35]

[35] The years mentioned in parentheses against song titles correspond to the first significant recording of the song.

Chapter Two: Identity and Counterculture-era Music

What could identity have to do with this work's titular focus on space in counterculture era music? Identities in addition to innate factors are shaped by the definitional space available to them. In conservative societies, only very specific roles are typically available to members of specific sections of that society, and these roles delimit the elbow room or space available to imagination for construing the inner self, the outside cosmos, and their interrelationships. Vivid, inherently individual imaginations have always rebelled against these constraints but their voices have usually been heard at best within small enclaves of intellectual kinfolks. Yet, phases of extreme and oppressive conservatism in Western and American society have arguably made those contrarian voices and lifestyles more attractive to the mainstream populace.

Counterculture emerged from such a scenario and might be seen as the contrarian culture that achieved the widest mainstream impact in recent history of the West. In America, the only identificational space available to middle-class urban youth was that of the next generation of bodies on the workforce, the workings of which increasingly afforded no sense of inherent meaning. In the 1950s, the beats, and in the late 1960s, the much larger countercultural crowd resisted this conformity that had defined their parents' generation.[1]

The premise of this chapter is that counterculture's impact on North American and Western European societies was way more sweeping than suggested by most historical accounts, focus as they do on public and often demonstrative countercultural activity. One aim of this dissertation is to understand these impacts by examining the overlaps between disparate counterculture-era musics and their audiences, some distinct

but others overlapping. The methodology is multi-pronged and in the main involves identifying central tenets in countercultural social, political, and especially mental and spiritual life, and finding their expression in that era's music, whether explicitly countercultural or more mainstream or relatively confined to a specific crowd such as jazz or country. In line with my thesis that after the spectacular communal late-1960s phase, countercultural ideologies and dreams, rather than immediately dissipate, entered more private and individual worlds of people embedded in mainstream workaday lives, my attention is at least equally directed toward what may be described as late- and post-countercultural era music that continued to evince their endurance.

The counterculture was not a clearly defined and located group—individuals from many groups came under the sway of ideologies that radiated, whether through underground or mainstream media, from some individual and enclave epicenters. What was shared between counterculture's disparate acolytes was alternative reimaginings of the modern world and a degree of belief in them. Cultural expressions emanating from these reimaginings varied among different groups and individuals who came under their influence. Thus musicians and audiences from different musico-cultural backgrounds—folk revival, country and bluegrass, rock and roll, rhythm & blues/soul/funk, jazz, and Western art music—responded to counterculture's emergence differently. This has been apparent in their musics, both contemporaneous and subsequent. In this chapter, I will draw on their musical offerings, among other expressions, to tease out the differences in the identities of these groups, all of which evidenced significant countercultural influence. In later chapters, I will examine the music to show some of the overlaps,

[1] For the socio-culturo-politcal backdrops for the beats' and counterculturalists' rebellions and for continuities between the two sets, see Holton (1999).

among which lies the quintessence of countercultural ideals and foremost among which was a search for alternative spaces.

The counterculture was neither a clearly delimited subculture nor a unified oppositional "movement." The *socio-political* contrarian groups of the 1960s constituting the New Left did have some makings of a movement, but eventually they were far outnumbered by *cultural* revolutionaries with nebulously articulated agendas and inchoate group outlines. The latter just wanted to be excused from the dehumanizing grind of modern urban society, to get off the fast track, and to lay back and "do their own thing," whatever and all that might have entailed. Both groups have been commonly included under the umbrella term "counterculture," although the overlap between the members of the two groups was limited. The latter, more specifically counter-*cultural*, group is often also identified by the moniker "hippies," although the scope of the term hippie has often, and perhaps precisely, been seen as a limited one best confined to a more specific, visually and behaviorally spectacular, subgroup. It would also perhaps be accurate to characterize *hippies* as typically having been followers and distinct from *the hip*, creative artists who were culture producers.[2]

Countercultural ideas and ideologies, however, had a much more sweeping and lasting impact than is usually recognized, and this is best reflected in the lives of those with less overt usurpist agendas than the callers to revolution or wholesale defection or secession. Yet, it was possibilities first aired by the counterculture and the pervasive

[2] In 1966, the Kinks took a sarcastic dig at their mod followers in the song "Dedicated Follower of Fashion." Similarly in 1968, Frank Zappa made the distinction clear between countercultural era artistic producers, many high-minded, and mere followers on the album *We're Only in it for the Money*, which lampooned the San Francisco hippie scene, celebrated just a few months earlier in the populist anthem by Scott McKenzie "If You're Going to San Francisco," in such lines as "every town must have a place where phony hippies meet, psychedelic dungeons popping up on every street, come to San Francisco." In 1970, Chris Hillman and the Flying Burrito preached a more tolerant stance toward hippies in the song "Hippie Boy." There were a few examples, though, where musicians explicitly identified themselves as hippie, such

zeitgeist of credence in alternative possibilities, if not realities, that fueled the imaginations of millions more who stayed plugged in to largely mainstream urban lives. Of course, the level of belief in the grander of the daydreams would decline progressively through the decades just as packaged versions of the more accessible ones would become more realizable within the structure of urban lives as vacation and weekend escapes.[3] Still, sometimes it would be initiatives first championed by the counterculture that would prove a significant factor in ensuring the sustainability of these later versions of structured escapes from the urban treadmill.

Scholars mostly agree that music was the central expressive-emotive channel for the counterculture. While visual art and literature, and to an extent cinema, were also important venues, it was music and lyrics that captured the pulse of the times. Music directed at the counterculture had a wider circulation than most of the era's underground literature. One can also argue that the latter was produced by self-identified intelligentsia and those with enough initiative to continually strive toward mobilizing a cultural upheaval, nothing less. Most counterculturists, self-identified hippies and freaks especially, through consumption of alternative cultural products, only offered approval and they consumed and participated in more music than in writing or reading.[4]

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as in the Youngbloods' "Hippie from Olema," but this was as a rejoinder to and in contradistinction to the southern conservatives celebrated in hard country singer Merle Haggard's "Okie from Muskogee."

[3] Even the more inaccessible dreams have now been packaged. According to a recent issue of *Men's Journal*, one of the stream of mainstream magazines that espouse the "work hard, play harder" contemporary ethic, a man who works hard and can save up $29,000, can even take a shot at Mt. Everest over a slightly extended break, before running back to civilization to flash his newly earned badge.

[4] *Rolling Stone*, the counterculture's flagship music journal, after thorough mainstreamization, even today has a circulation of 1.4 million. By contrast, the LP album, which became the counterculture-era audience's favored music format and in 1968, based on their espousal, overtook the 45 rpm single in sales, was consistently charting gold sales (500,000 units) in the late 1960s and platinum sales (1,000,000 units) by 1976. Many counterculture-era rock albums had already registered several times those figures even in contemporary sales, much before they came to dominate all-time top-selling album lists because of their value as time and space capsules. For instance, the Eagles' *Their Greatest Hits 1971-1975*, the soundtrack of the "Take it Easy" Western daydream, remains the top-selling album in the US according to RIAA.

In that context, it should also be noted that most professional musicians who spoke to and for the counterculture rarely identified themselves as counterculturists and much less as hippies, and those typically identified as hippies were rarely performing or recording musicians. This is also precisely the reason that the stated subject of this work is music not just of a delimited counterculture but rather of the whole countercultural era, most of which evidenced a response to the Pandora's Box of theretofore inadmissible dreams and desires thrown open by the counterculture. My focus on late- and even post-countercultural expressions owes to the fact that after the public and participatory fervor of the communal movement had simmered down at the end of the 1960s, countercultural desires emerged in more concrete form—sonic, musical, visual, and lyrical. The earlier privilege of falling back on performative or chemical energies to assist in the transfer of energy and mutual identity-formation was no longer available to solitary hi-fi audiophiles in their listening chambers—at home or in their vehicles.[5] In music, studio technology now helped inscribe into the medium itself a subtle but more powerful array of energies, which in solitary listening were unleashed through ever improving, spatializing audiophile equipment. Countercultural dreaming had now moved into solitary spheres, but it had not disappeared. It had also moved far beyond the prominent and famous avant-garde urban enclaves such as Greenwich Village, Berkeley, Haight-Ashbury, and Laurel and Topanga Canyons.

[5] See Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities*, for his interpretation of Lacanian psychoanalysis to explain the process of mutual identity-formation by musicians and audiences during emotionally-overcharged sincere-but-propositional live performance of desired identificational traits.

"WHO DO WE THINK WE ARE?"[6]: PROGRESSIVELY-FUZZY-YET-INDELIBLE CLASS AND REGIONAL LINES IN AMERICAN MUSICAL COMMUNITIES AND MARKETS

At least since the advent of mass media, music could not be contained within the confines of a given "folk."[7] Same is true about culture's other aspects, not only expressive but also identificational. The advent of mass media could be seen as the original moment of the "birth of the cool."[8] Individuals, subcultural groups, often even whole regional cultures, not satisfied with their own native tradition's prescribed identities, or its limited offerings in terms of cool identities, or bored of that tradition's looks or sounds, could look elsewhere for ideas to spiff up their self image and the ones they projected to the world, including through the same popular media. Eastern Seaboarders in North America for long had defined themselves in the image of the European elite; conservatory-trained musicians stateside even today continue to emulate Germanic models of taste and behavior. Another example more pertinent to this work would be the image and sound of southern and Middle American working-class whites' vernacular music, now widely known as country music, which has continually been updated with liberal borrowings.[9] Country music's case is one I will discuss in detail below, as country—the region, the

[6] Deep Purple, *Who Do We Think We Are* (1973, Arista).

[7] The nineteenth-century modifier "folk" for culture and music was coined specifically to distinguish the delimited cultures of localized populations that were seen as threatened by the homogenizing process unleashed by modernity and popular mass media.

[8] Miles Davis, *Birth of the Cool* (1949, Blue Note).

[9] The market of country music is not regionally defined anymore, as it to some extent was at the birth of the commercial genre as "hillbilly music" in the 1920s. While traditional Anglo-American musics that constitute its roots were played across much of America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, those traditional musics were increasingly replaced by elite and popular musics in the rapidly urbanizing North, with the South remaining its main bastion. It was there that a merger of those roots with African American ones gave rise to twentieth century country music. It is in that regional sense that I describe country music's audience as southern. With increasing out-migration from the South during the twentieth century, country music's audience has spread throughout the United States, but is especially strong in rural and semi-urban Midwest; in all places, country's audience also continues to be relatively less literate and working-class. It is in both these senses that I place country's appeal in Middle America. This process of shifting locus of country music's appeal has been acknowledged for long; for instance see Peterson and DiMaggio (1975).

people, the culture, the music, and the idea—would become increasingly imbricated with the countercultural pastoral while constantly abrading against it. The tension-laden interplay would not end with the end of the countercultural era either, but continue to this day in the music and identities of Americans.

Despite almost a century of mass-media-fueled liberal borrowings for designing hybrid identities, the lines of demarcation have not disappeared. America has not become the classless or regionally unmarked society that many fancy. While even in tradition-bound England, with its putatively impenetrable class lines, working class members of the Beatles could become quasi-royalty, a "kicker" in America still could not easily become a hippie simply by taking on the visual cultural markers of the latter. Even a hip and educated southerner had a tough time fitting in with elitist counterculturists from elsewhere. Atlanta- and Austin-based underground scribe and currently head of the Department of American Cultural and Literary studies in Turkey, Cliff Endres, confirmed this from his experiences in New York in the late 1960s where his accent immediately identified him as being of "cowboy" stock (Endres 2008: personal interview). Endres also drew my attention to the similar experience that Austin musician Gary P. Nunn inscribed into the theme song for the city's flagship cultural product, the *Austin City Limits* television show.[10] That has not precluded continuous attempts at such transgressions, though. More than any visual or other behavioral marker, it was the sonic markers—regional accents in speech and song and culturally influenced stylistic choices in instrumental performance and recording styles and in listening tastes—that have

[10] The last verse line in "London Homesick Blues,""and they said "You're from down South," and when you open your mouth, you always seem to put your foot there," came from Gary P. Nunn's similar experience to Endres'. The song was first recorded on Jerry Jeff Walker's Viva Terlingua! album in Luckenbach, Texas, where countercultural Texans (along with the occassinal honorary Texan such as Walker) together carved out in-between identities that retained the down-to-earthness of traditional Texas but clearly disidentified with its redneck traits in songs such as "Up Against the Wall, Redneck other."

continued to distinguish the groups and have denied members of one easy entry into the other.

Yet, in one's own cultural circles one could be viewed as an embodiment of the cool traits of the other group. Thus, countercultural rockers, from the Charlatans to the Eagles to Michael Martin Murphey and Ian Tyson, often redefined themselves, in their circles and for their largely urban audiences, in the various recombinant images of the cowboy, a particularly elastic mascot with origins in rural America which could be recast as the wild and free American West.[11] Contrariwise, a country musician such as Willie Nelson eventually became accepted, at least within southern and Middle America, as the quintessential hippie. Regional and class lines have not proven entirely impregnable, but exceptional resilience of character backed by identificational conviction has been indispensable for the crossover success of the magnitude of Nelson's and Johnny Cash's. I will return to the playing out of the friction between country and urban and southern and mainstream American identities later in this chapter when we get to a consideration of the various amalgams of country and urban musics in the 1960s and 1970s. It might help first to clarify who we have in mind when we talk about the counterculture, countercultural music, music of the countercultural era, and music of the late- and post-countercultural era.

Countercultures, i.e. sections of a society that challenge the mainstream culture's prescribed codes of behavior, have been around since the beginning of civilization.[12] The contemporary English-language designation, however, has a briefer history. The term

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"London Homesick Blues" for 29 years was the theme song of PBS affiliate KLRU's *Austin City Limits* program, which is the city's best known cultural marker.

[11] For LA-based Charlatans and Eagles image and dress, see Einarson's *Desperados*. For Michael Martin Murphey's "cosmic cowboy" image, see Reid's *Redneck Rock* and Archie Green's "Austin's Cosmic Cowboys."

[12] For an analysis of the common characteristics of such contrarian groups, see Goffman and Joy (2004).

counter-culture was coined in 1951 by Talcott Parsons in relation to the ideology of subcultures in *The Social System*. Jim Yinger featured the first sustained elaboration of a related term, "contraculture," in 1960 in his attempt to distinguish naturally-occurring subsets of a society, which he considered "subcultures," from his category of "contraculture," which he viewed as "a full-fledged oppositional movement with a distinctively separate set of norms and values that are produced dialectically out of a sharply delineated conflict with the dominant society."[13] It was Theodore Roszak's more popular reappropriation of Parsons' coinage, but without the hyphen, in 1968 that sealed the subsequent spelling. Yet, the phenomenon had been fermenting for some time.

Music was more integral to the counterculture than it had been to the beat "movement." Its spectacular peak has typically been described as bookended by two of the most legendary musical events of the 20th century—1967's International Monterey Pop Festival and 1969's Woodstock Music and Arts Fair. Its putative demise was marked by two almost equally storied ones—December 1969's Altamont Speedway Rolling Stones concert and 1970's British Isle of Wight Festival.[14] While these spectacular events remain all-too-convenient milestones for a sampled history of the counterculture that has appeared in countless popular and academic venues, my interest in this work extends way beyond the visually spellbinding and colorful communal flowering of the socio-cultural phenomenon. No, my concern is with the continuation of counterculture's ideologies into less sweepingly public, often individual realms. In fact if those ideologies had not

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[13] Interpretation of J. Milton Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," *American Sociological Review*, 25/4 (October 1960), 625-635, in Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, "Introduction: Historicizing the American Counterculture of the 1960s and 70s," in *Imagine Nation*, ed. Braunstein and Doyle, 6-7.

[14] The Altamont Speedway event of Dec 6, 1969, was billed as a Rolling Stones "free concert." It has, however, been interpreted in history as a festival, perhaps to mark the end of the Age of Aquarius that dawned at Monterey Pop Festival and publicly peaked at Woodstock Music and Arts Fair (more correctly described as a festival as it was a multi-day, camping event spread over a sprawling farm). Like other rock festivals, the Altamont event did feature a number of other musical acts including the Grateful Dead,

continued into the present and into the lives of the likes of me, this dissertation would have no inspiration.

Musical choices made by musicians, producers, and audiences, at the time and since, provide one of the most accurate barometers of the persistence of countercultural desires and ideologies into the subsequent decades and to some extent into the present. In any case, it is the one I can read best. Still, as I mentioned at the start, this excursion is not just into music. This work is about understanding a set of musical expressions through understanding the countercultural mind, and it is about understanding the countercultural mind through understanding the range of its musical expressions. All of this is done in an attempt of appreciating counterculture has bequeathed us, musically or otherwise, and which of its offerings seem lost to antiquity, but might yet be retrievable.

Unlike with many subcultures, in which developing and projecting subcultural identities becomes the main project making those contrarian identities conspicuous, counterculture at its wide fuzzy boundaries was a much more nebulous phenomenon. Most of those who contributed to it or participated in it in some way did so without the complete immersion of, say, the beats, the flower children, or the later-emerging skinheads and punks of different colors. Most did not describe themselves as counterculturists and even fewer identified themselves as hippies, the latter being a term that quickly acquired an uncomplimentary overtone and has since usually been ascribed from without. While it may be so that those described by straight America as hippies might have preferred the appelations “freaks” or “heads,” few of them were accomplished artists whose creative output shaped countercultural art, literature, film, or music. The artistic brain of the countercultural era had different provenances and

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Santana, Jefferson Airplane, but like 1970s and 1980s arena rock concerts, it was hosted in an enclosed “arena.”

trajectories than “the dedicated followers of fashion” who were instrumental in “taking it(’s message) to the streets.” The best way to understand the artistic-intellectual aspects of the countercultural era, then, is to trace those provenances and trajectories.

URBAN FOLKIES: FROM COMMUNAL SING-OUTS TO SOLIPSISTIC SPATIAL EXPLORATIONS

If there was a single music with which the counterculture’s music was linearly continuous, it was that of the urban folk revival. Surely, a big section of countercultural music was electrified and became progressively louder, as it responded to festival crowds the size of a mid-sized North American city’s population. For instance, 1973’s Summer Jam at Watkins Glen in New York, the countercultural era festival with the largest attendance on record, hosted over 600,000 attendees, which is comparable to Austin, Texas’ current population. Robert Santelli summarizes the sway of countercultural music festivals among urban youth,

> Many historians claimed that the Watkins Glen event was the largest gathering of people in the history of the United States. In essence, that meant that on July 28, one out of every 350 people living in America at the time was listening to the sounds of rock at the New York state racetrack. Considering that most of those who attended the event hailed from the Northeast, and that the average age of those present was approximately seventeen to twenty-four, close to one out of every three young people from Boston to New York was at the festival (Santelli 1980).

Despite the deafening volumes by the latter part of the decade, it was the urban folk music revival that had provided the training ground for the largest contingent of musicians who spoke to the counterculture at what became the era’s standard public musical fixture, the outdoors rock concert/festival. Musicians who did start out with amplified rock and roll, typically in suburban “garage bands,” eventually also came under

the sway of the emergent folk rock and country rock genres augured by erstwhile folkies. In fact, the three bands that headlined the Watkins Glen festival—The Grateful Dead, the Allman Brothers Band, and the Band—were all following a country rock direction at the time, at least on half of their repertoire.[15]

The story of many aspects of the folk revival has been told before in different popular and academic venues (Rosenberg 1993; Cantwell 1996; Filene 2000). My concern here is specifically with emergent elements that pointed the path away from the topical-political and communal early phases of the revival, which had continued with some ebb and flow from the late 1930s to 1963, to the pastoral and solipsistic fanciful flights of folk rock, singer-songwriter soft rock, country rock, progressive bluegrass, and progressive country music that spoke of a later mindset and newer transcendent identities.

This is not to suggest that only the earlier phase of urban folk musicking was communal. Surely that phase had more emphatically stressed communal participation and concerns. Woody Guthrie is rightly regarded as the poet laureate of that phase and his songs are best described in the title of one of his own song collections, *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard Hit People* of which he said, "The songs in this book come from everywhere, just like I did. Only there was just more and hungrier people.... Just forget I had a damn thing to do with it, it's real and it's made up by folks that has had to take 'er

[15] While the Band's roots were in live rock and roll, as members of the Hawks backing Canadian "rockabilly" singer Ronnie Hawkins, they brought in elements of southern gospel, soul, and old-time country when they started their legendary collaboration with Bob Dylan in 1966. By 1970, the Band had become the group most prominently described as exponents of "country rock." Members of the Grateful Dead had roots in the urban acoustic folk, bluegrass, blues, and jugband revival, but their initial claim to fame was as a loud electric psychedelic rock band, the Warlocks, playing at Ken Kesey's Electric Kool-Aid Acid Tests in Berkeley, CA. Jerry Garcia, coming under the sway of Crosby, Stills, and Nash's fusion in 1969, returned in his group and solo efforts to a countrified soft-rock sound evidenced on *New Riders of the Purple Sage* (1969), *Workingman's Dead* (1970), *American Beauty* (1971), and *Garcia* (1973). Garcia was also the banjo player and leader of an entirely acoustic and hugely influential bluegrass assemblage, Old & In the Way. The Allman Brothers has started as a larger group expanding on the mid-1960s blues rock sound, mixing in soul and jazz influences. By 1970, the country rock sound had become so pervasive that even hard blues and southern rockers started responding to it. Between *Eat a Peach* (1971) and *Brothers*

the hard way all their life....” (Lomax, Guthrie, and Seeger 1967). Guthrie sang of the plight of everyday people from all quarters. His unprivileged, rural raising perhaps more effortlessly allowed an unpretentious commiseration with those hardest hit by the hard times in the Depression years, when he started his career.

The folk community that coalesced around Guthrie and other rural Southern performers such as Aunt Molly Jackson, Jim Garland, Sarah Ogan Gunning, Huddie “Leadbelly” Ledbetter, Josh White, and Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee in Greenwich Village, though, hailed largely from upper middle class “intelligentsia.”[16] While Guthrie was a self-starter who set out on his own making a career that finally made him the archetypal American protest folk singer-songwriter, it was the urban revivalists’ initiative that brought in other performers such as Huddie “Leadbelly” Ledbetter, Mississippi Fred McDowell, Son House, Skip James, Mississippi John Hurt, Elizabeth Cotten, and Kilby Snow to their urban pre-industrial fabrication in the Village. Thus, there were two disparate groups in the folk revival—the Southern, presumedly unlettered representatives of the “folk” and the Northern erudite interpreters or “folkophiles.”

The sources of folk revivalists’ visions of an idealized community were many, but they all converged on a pre-modern, rural-inspired community as the egalitarian antithesis to Western capitalism’s “every man to himself” and “grab all you can” ethics that they saw as the root of the modern moral rot. The performance ethic of the political

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and Sisters (1973), the Allmans switched to a country rock sound on half of their work, most prominently on the classic rock staples “Blue Sky,” “Jessica” and “Rambling Man.”

[16] This is the first and only time I will use the word in quotes. It should be noted that the term “intelligentsia” comes from a certain section of Western society and applies to a certain section, usually their own. It is more of a self-identification of one’s privileged group. The creative output on a Southern “commoner” such as Guthrie would suggest a greater literary facility and perspicacity, if not intelligence, but still not membership of that named exclusive group. “Literati” or “literate” is another parallel coinage/identity and similarly applies to a public stance; the middle-class college dropouts who constituted a significant section of the counterculture viewed themselves and are described in mainstream and academic media as a literate population while a college graduate from the South when viewed in the same circles was typically not be able to shake off a hick, redneck, or “cowboy” identity!

wing of the folk revival also encouraged participation in the manner the revivalists associated with the romanticized idea of a pre-industrial folk. The phrase "the rise-up-singing generation," which has been used to characterize the older guard of the urban folk revival, is an apt descriptor of their musical aesthetic. The magazine *Sing Out!* was this generation's chronicler as well as musical road map. Its varied repertoire of traditional and popular material was finally complied and published as a songbook by the magazine in 1988; its title *Rise Up Singing* captures that generation's aesthetic of emphasizing singing and community (Blood and Patterson 2004). The public peaks of this phenomenon were reached perhaps in 1963 at the Newport Folk Festival and the March on Washington. The image that famously captures this communal aesthetic of musicmaking comes from the former event and shows the emancipatory white old guard represented by Pete Seeger joining hands with the oppressed class represented by the African American Freedom Singers and the revolutionary, again white, avant-garde represented by Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and Peter, Paul & Mary as they sang Seeger and Guy Carawan's "We Shall Overcome" and Dylan's "Blowing in the Wind." But with the latter song and the album on which it appeared, *Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, the poetic bellwether of the forthcoming countercultural generation had already adumbrated the new direction, one of progressive disentanglement from the specifics of contemporary socio-political issues.[17] On the subsequent three albums, *The Times They Are A-Changin'*, *Another Side of Bob Dylan*, and *Bringing it All Back Home*, he would lead the emerging

[17] Notice that *Blowin' in the Wind*, despite its prominent use in socio-politically charged venues, only points out the long human history of what also happened to be contemporary socio-political issues, and does not specifically call for social or political action.

"singer-songwriter" genre toward greater immersion in individual, rather than communal, themes.[18]

The apolitical wing of late 1950s' and early 1960s' folk revival, comprising old-time, bluegrass, and country blues interpreters, also employed participation-friendly music, although they were often more concerned than the other camps with authenticity of interpretation and with instrumental dexterity. Surely with some solo performers, such as bluesman Mississippi John Hurt and white blues and ragtime guitar interpreter Dave Van Ronk, the possibility of audience participation was limited. Old-time, bluegrass, and jugband revival music, nevertheless, always encouraged audience participation through dancing. The New Lost City Ramblers best represent this latter apolitical communal music-making wing that stayed focused on the music and at most folkloristic advocacy of reviving and preserving traditional Southern musics. It was a younger subset of folk music enthusiasts, however, who would bring this music into the center of countercultural musicmaking.

Jerry Garcia and Robert Hunter (leader and lyricist, respectively, for the Grateful Dead), Jorma Kaukonen and Jack Casady (guitarist and bassist, respectively, for both Jefferson Airplane and Hot Tuna), Mike Nesmith (singer and songwriter for the Monkees and a country rock pioneer with his First National Band), John Sebastian (leader of the

[18] In fact the concept of singer-songwriter seems to have emerged from this embrace of both socio-political and personal themes among young folk revival songwriters. Woody Guthrie had been the most prolific of the so-called folk songwriter-singers in the generation that preceded Dylan's. Yet, he ascribed the source and the inspiration of his songs to the people, the folk whose trials and toils he channeled into songs, typically based on melodies already popular in the folk tradition. Guthrie was thus never described as a "singer-songwriter" and until 1962, the emphasis on interpretation of existing material among revivalists led them to be described as "folk" singers. With the aforementioned Dylan albums released from 1963 to 1965, however, it seemed to have become clear that the mere presence of acoustic instrumentation up front in a performance could not be equated with folk music. In 1965, Elektra records announced the advent of the new genre with *The Singer-Songwriter Project* album featuring four young Dylan-inspired songwriters—Richard Farina, Patrick Sky, David Cohen, and Bruce Murdoch—singing of socio-political as well as personal subjects. See http://www.richardandmimi.com/singer.html and http://www.richieunterberger.com/davidblue.html, accessed on October 11, 2008.

folk-pop group Lovin' Spoonful and a prominent speaker/artist at the Woodstock Music and Arts Festival), Chris Hillman (singer, mandolin player, bassist, and guitarist for country rock pioneers the Byrds, the Flying Burrito Brothers, and Manassas), Herb Pedersen (singer and banjo player for country rock pioneers the Dillards and Linda Ronstadt), David Bromberg (guitarist and violinist on Jerry Jeff Walker's groundbreaking early progressive country albums, Bob Dylan's country rock recordings, Paul Siebel, Tom Rush, John Prine, and Vassar Clements' *Hillbilly Jazz* series of albums), and Peter Rowan (singer and guitarist for Bill Monroe and the Blue Grass Boys, Earth Opera, Seatrain, and Old & In The Way) were just some of the many important contributors to countercultural era music who cut their teeth in folk revival venues during the first half of the 1960s. But how did these musicians' identities relate to those from whose music they borrowed and to those for whom they performed and recorded? Were they "the folk" or "the counterculture"? Or neither? Or partly both?

Authenticity was a central concern in early folk revival performance circles and has retained its position in contemporary folk, even if it has not always been reflected in the ensuing music. Folk revivalists, just as some current Americana artists, were interested in invoking, even constructing, a pre-modern America, and in their utopian fervor often expunged the actual historical realities of that society.[19] This imagined America of yore, viewed and especially heard in its recombinant forms from a temporal remove, was weird in a magical sort of a way. For one, it was bowdlerized of racist realities. Economic and political realities might have been reflected in some of the lyrics but in the moment of performance and/or reception, even these acquired a different romantic sense. Civil War, coal and copper mining, Depression, and Dust Bowl songs

[19] Perhaps this selectivity is not that different from the one responsible for the univocal narrative that in pre-postmodern times was usually unquestioningly accepted under the rubric "history."

when performed in the city and on commercial recordings, especially at a time when the particular problem was not an urgent or a proximal one, acquired a romantic nostalgic flavor. They spoke of different times and places, which *sounded* more interesting than the *living* of the onerous task of urban life with its oppressively boring and impinging problems, their own particular desperations having been diluted by time and remove and romanticized through lyrical and musical beauty. Alan Lomax, Harry Smith, and Bob Dylan and the Band became the most influential authors of this romanticized "old, weird America" for successive generations of Americana roots diggers (Marcus 2001).

The point I am trying to make is that by choosing to play music from a distant time and place, neither the real historical particularities nor the current understandings of which impinged upon and challenged its contemporary reconstructions in city music making, urban folk revivalists could avoid the risk of being identified with clearly defined and understood contemporary American regional identities that had any uncomplimentary aspects. By doing so, in particular they avoided association with redneck, red-state America, typically identified with electrified Nashville-made country music.[20]

After 1966, however, such identificational boundary lines would become increasingly blurry. For instance, a literary renaissance comprising the likes of Kris Kristofferson, Willie Nelson, Mickey Newbury, Townes Van Zandt, Guy Clark, Willis Alan Ramsey, Billy Joe Shaver, Bill Staines, Rodney Crowell, Nanci Griffith, Butch Hancock, Vince Bell, and Lyle Lovett would emerge from a red state such as Texas, and offer some of the counterculture's definitive music while in many cases operating

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[20] Red state is a recent designation, but the derogatory sense of stagnant conservatism attached by progressive America to this region has a long history extending back to the Civil War and beyond. The

through the capital of another one, Nashville, Tennessee. Others such as Jerry Jeff Walker would choose to move to Texas to become honorary citizens. More recently, Nashville has emerged an eclectic musical Mecca and the most important headquarters of the whole American recording industry, and not just of the country music industry. Yet, it was not always so and tensions remain. I will return to the friction between folk revivalists' and southerners' identities, when I consider the country music constituency's relation to the counterculture.

The emphasis of this section, as outlined above, is to follow the move away from communal concerns and musicking to charting of individual spaces, or the individual charting of spaces. The public identities of the Pete Seeger generation of folkies were community-centered; they identified themselves as upper- or upper-middle-class urban intelligentsia together seeking a pre-modern sense of community. It was Bob Dylan's own individual identity and his singular poetic impact that led post-folk revival musicians to define themselves as introspective "singer-songwriters;" Dylan's influence on the pop-rock lyric was no less epochal. Gordon Lightfoot, who started his recording career coeval with Dylan in 1962, had a greater personal emphasis in his lyrics from the start, but his wider impact was felt later than that of Dylan; both would subsequently acknowledge mutual admiration and influence. In terms of popular and critical success, James Taylor and Jackson Browne emerged as Dylan's 1970s' singer-songwriter counterparts, with Lightfoot close behind.[21] Throughout that decade they continued to explore existential individual movement through physical, personal, and interpersonal spaces, often in the same song, never once suggesting membership in any community and least of all taking

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older designations of "redneck" and "bible-belt" have since the 2004 Presidential Election just been supplemented by "red sate" and "Jesusland."

[21] Dylan himself continued with fair success, but not without much singularity of direction or consistency of critical acclaim.

up overtly socio-political causes. Of course, for the late countercultural set, the personal was the political; its expression just was not fueled by an agenda of social change.[22]

That latter statement is surely not true of all late countercultural factions. As the larger communal face of the counterculture regressed from the public eye, smaller shared-interest groups took up its communalist agendas. Lesbian musicians, for instance, through women's music declared a political manifesto through communally bringing out of the closet the personal, and together taking charge of their lives and music by independently operating a significant recording label such as Olivia Records. Kate Wolf, in Sonoma County, California, helped build her own and folk music's fan base in the area through hosting radio shows, inaugurating a folk festival, and starting her own publishing company and record label. Although Wolf was seen as being at the verge of a national breakthrough at the time of her death in 1986, during her decade-and-a-half professional career, she relied almost entirely on a local community that she herself helped build. Through belief, such musicians were able to assure sustainability of their communal life and communal projects, and through sustainability they were able to keep such belief. The few communes that survived past the 1970s worked on the same principle. Of course many such communal projects, whether musical or otherwise, failed. Such was the eventual fate of Olivia Records and the community of lesbian singer-songwriters it had helped sustain for long. A similar fate eventually befell the Austin-area progressive country community by the late 1970s. In 1973, with Jerry Jeff Walker and the Lost Gonzo Band's influential *Viva Terlingua!*, recorded in an old general store converted into a post office converted into a dancehall in a town privately owned by maverick Hondo

[22] In academic corridors such as the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University, cultural theorists such as Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall had already been developing theories expositing the political dimensions of putatively innocuously cultural activity. Elsewhere French scholar Michel de Certeau was developing his theory theory of the politics of the everyday life (de Certeau 1984).

Crouch, this community of rebel artists had jubilantly announced its independence from the mainstream of American and Texan life. By the end of the decade, the city's limited audience, whether hippie or kicker or somewhere in between like these artists, proved inadequate to support musicians who arrived in droves following the initial hullabaloo regarding Austin as a town where one could make it on one's own artistic terms.[23]

[23] For more on the Olivia story, see Dee Mosbacher's video documentary *Radical Harmonies* (Wolfe Video, 2002). For the collapse of the Austin Progressive country scene, see Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities*.

HIPPIES: DROP-OUTS AND WEEKENDERS

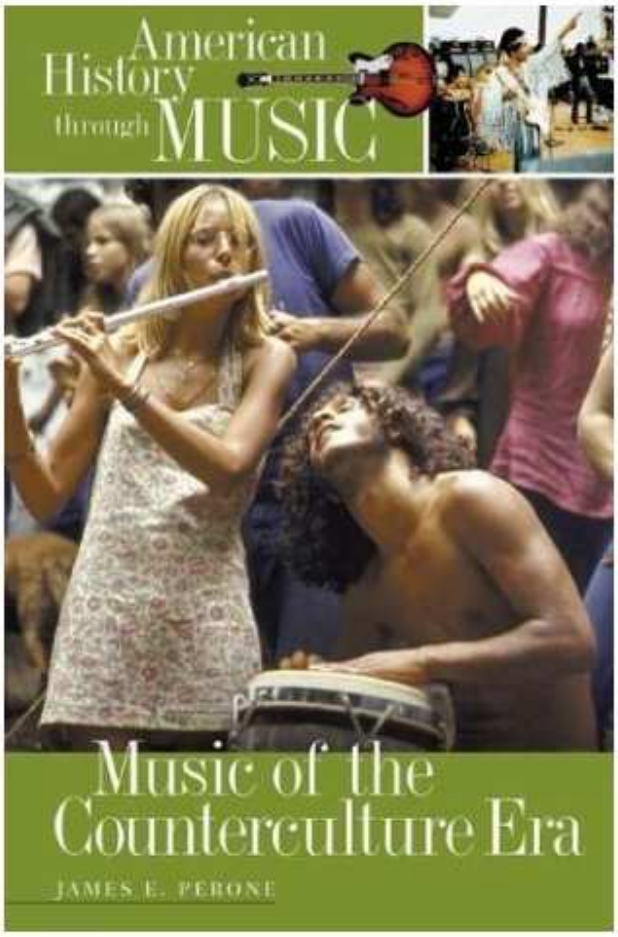

Fig 2.1: James E. Perone's *Music of the Countercultural Era*, a book promoted as a college-level text dedicated to the music of the countercultural era. Note the stereotype of hippie music adorning the cover.

The association of the counterculture and its music with the stylized image of the hippie is forever etched in the popular mind. Every new article or book that is published on the subject carves that link a little deeper into that collective imagination with the help of a few choice images. Yet, self-identified hippies hardly constituted a population sizable enough to account for the staggering sales of counterculture-associated music,

sales which continued well into the mid-1970s, a period well after the proclaimed dissipation of the so-called public "movement." For instance, in the year 1976 alone, the year RIAA introduced the platinum album award, a number of the 37 awards went to country rock associated pastoral music albums—The Eagles' *Their Greatest Hits 1971-1975* and *Hotel California*, Linda Ronstadt's *Hasten Down the Wind*, RCA's progressive country compilation *Wanted: The Outlaws*, Bob Dylan's *Desire*, Jackson Browne's *The Pretender*, and John Denver's *Spirit*. Similarly, the December 1975 release of Pat Metheny's *Bright Size Life* ushered in a new era of popularity for pastoral jazz, which also had its roots in the counterculture's obsession with outdoors space and was released on the German ECM label which had helped establish the genre in 1969 with Chick Corea's *Crystal Silence*. Many of these albums, although rarely jazz ones, went on to multi-platinum and even diamond sales and have continued to sell well, confirming that the buyers were not just dropped-out hippies squatting in abandoned houses in districts such as San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury or living in communes, homesteads, or on the street. A more consequential consumer segment of countercultural dreams was well ensconced in the nine-to-five gristmill and perhaps had a greater need for the music to hang on to hopes of something more than that mundane lot. For most of these "weekend hippies," the possibility of a sweeping social revolution was either over or had never seemed a possibility; the yearning for something more than the daily grind, laying somewhere out in the American expanse, remained still and was delivered to them as a dream and a materiality through sound.

The roots of the social and, more importantly for my purpose here, cultural dissent of the 1960s can conveniently be traced to the 1950s and even further back. Yet, we need to understand the innovation, novelty, and multidimensionality of

countercultural music and culture. To recapitulate, the Beats are often regarded as role models for the counterculture; many of them also became active senior participants. Their poetry clearly influenced the poeticism of countercultural music, but as listeners they had been mostly interested in bebop and avant-garde jazz as they attempted to imagine and project themselves as "white negroes." The rock and rollers were similarly generationally and aesthetically discontinuous with the counterculture. Most of the rock and roll *performers* from the 1950s—whether black rhythm and blues musicians or white rockabillies—had been southern-raised, working class men and few women of limited literate pretensions, and thus provided limited grounds for intellectual identification for counterculturists. Although Chuck Berry and Little Richard were integrated into the countercultural festival performance circuit as elder pioneers of an important color within counterculture's musical rainbow, other survivors moved on to adult mainstream or regional music.

The majority of the1950s teen rock and roll *audiences*, although lumped under the popular "baby boomer" appellation, were born before the end of the war, roughly between 1935 and 1945. By the 1967 coming-out party of the counterculture, most of the middle-class urban members of the previous decade's rock and roll audiences were past their undergraduate years and ensconced in workaday routines, and the ones who did drop out of mainstream urban life patterns were ones exceptionally committed to the socio-political visions driving the phenomenon. With dreams of far-ranging social structural upheaval quashed by the early 1970s, the ones who stayed dropped-out did so individually, as did musicians born before 1945, or as part of smaller groups attempting alternative lifestyles such as homesteading. Consumers of countercultural dreams—captured in words, sounds, images—were, however, much more substantive than these

extreme counterculturists who have continued to monopolize academic and popular attention. In the end, this work is not about the activist counterculture or even about the counterculture as such, but rather it is about the dreams which emerged out of the socio-political disappointment but economic privilege of the preceding post-WW II years in the Western hemisphere. More specifically it is about how members of that generation devised ways of communicating those shared dreams, facilitating their ability to hang on to those visions while for most official life returned to business as usual.

The flower children and attendees of the fabled 1960s and early 1970s music festivals and concerts at legendary venues such as Fillmore East and West, Winterland, and Watkins Glen were, however, actually "baby boomers" in the sense most of them were conceived less than a decade from the end of the war during a period of unprecedented fecundity in America and allied nations. This was also the age group from which came about half the musicians with whose music I am concerned in this work—most country rock, singer-songwriter soft rock, and progressive bluegrass musicians who brought those genres to their popular peak belonged to this group. Members of the Eagles and Pure Prairie League, Jackson Browne, James Taylor, Tony Rice, and Pat Metheny, for instance, all belong to this group. Yet the foundations for all these and other genres discussed here were laid down c. 1963 to 1968 by musicians born before or during the war years. Pharoah Sanders, Lonnie Liston Smith, Gordon Lightfoot, Bob Dylan, David Grisman, Jerry Garcia, Tom Rush, and members of the Byrds belong to this slightly senior group.

COUNTRY MUSICIANS, COUNTRY MUSIC, AND THE COUNTERCULTURE

The counterculture era saw an increasing interest among urbanites in the music traditionally played and listened to by Americans marked by the notion of "country." Now who exactly belongs under that category might not be as clear as with musics of other ethnics minorities in the US or elsewhere. Richard Peterson charts a shift in the delineating criteria from those of regionality to class as increasing number of workers from the South, the supposed bastion of traditional vernacular musics historically placed under the country category, migrated in subsequent waves to various urban, peri-urban, and semi-rural areas outside the South (Peterson:). As these most of these migrants remained working class, across America country became the music of that class while in the South retaining some appeal for other classes as well.[24] Starting with acoustic stringband musics, welcomed and adopted under the garb of "folk" music, throughout the 1960s more varied styles of musics of southern and Middle America were introduced into increasingly diverse stylistic amalgams by urban acolytes based in the North and on the West Coast. These sounds were the closest ones available to the sounds associated with a pre-modern rural, agrarian America as also with pastoral vernacular music in both world—Old and New. Yet this process of admittance was guarded and gradual.

In mainstream media in America, as elsewhere, the idea of "country" has been associated with certain markers of the identities of those who inhabit that region. At different times and in various media, some of these identity markers were selectively

[24] From my ten years in the American South, I can attest that the Southern intellectual and cultural elite disidentify with country music and culture with at least as much passion as blue-state residents. Yet the appeal of countrypolitan music from the 1950s to 1970s and contemporary country by the likes of George Strait (especially in his home state of Texas) and Kenny Chesney, cuts across at least economic class lines in the South; of course, cultural classes invested in Western classical, jazz, or alternative rock as cultural capital are self-consciously resistant to any such appeal.

emphasized to define the distinctiveness of these people and of the cultural products associated with them. Whether projected complimentarily, usually in an antiquarian sense, or derogatorily, country culture and its association with a lack of sophistication—both cultural and intellectual—has engendered among urban Americans a degree of discomfort with the possibility of being identified as belonging to or coming from that stock. This unease has continued to influence how Americans with not-too-distant rural origins have sought either to distance themselves from country music and especially from country identities, when they have deemed it possible, or else to redefine complimentarily their country-rooted identities. Unease with a country identity, as defined by mainstream media, is also apparent in the manner in which urban Americans making, appropriating, or listening to country music have defined the country elements within their music, identity, and public stance. A less discomfited embrace of American country music and some of its associated cultural markers by non-Americans—such as Japanese bluegrass and C&W bands and German country crooners—makes for an interesting contrast.

When country music entered the world of recording in the 1920s, it was cast in an already existing mold in the national media and in the urban mind that conformed to historically shaped ideas of what it meant to be from "the country." Not limited to the aural characteristics of musics that typified rural Americans, the country identity for urban citizens was marked by its bearers' deviations from the mainstream in language, dress, lifestyle, intellectual and lyrical concerns, and often speculated differences in cerebral capacities. The projected market for the music dictated the manner in which its producers and promoters presented it, whether depreciatively as "hillbilly music," or complimentarily as "old-time," "folk," "working-class," or even the quintessentially "American" of all musics.

Your Roots are Showing: Historical Negotiations by Country Musicians and Specific Responses to the Countercultural Context[25]

The ascendancy of the country music recording industry in Nashville, Tennessee, in the mid-1940s corresponded with continuing post-War migration of rural Americans to urban centers, a process that had caught steam during the Great Depression and the pre-War years. The ensuing increased contact between the two populations led to a growing perception among urban Americans of behavioral contrasts between rural émigrés and themselves (McLaurin, 1992: 19-21). For musicians with country roots operating in a national entertainment market, self-promotion and self-presentation has since involved one of the following *four* major categories of *strategies*. (1) Alacritous acceptance of an externally defined and often-exaggerated rustic identity, evidenced initially in hillbilly rube, rural hick, and redneck stereotypes, and exemplified by the radio barn dance. In front of countercultural audiences, this strategy is exemplified in the early career of the Ozark bluegrass group the Dillards who moved to the L.A. region in 1962 and endeared themselves to the area's folk revival circuit with their rube act, a live musical version of the Beverly Hillbillies. (2) Redefinition of the markers of a country identity and modifying these through an infusion of elements of myth, fantasy, and attitudinal cool: This was evidenced, for instance, in the redefinition of hillbilly music as country and western music in the 1930s. In the countercultural era this strategy resulted in the gradual embrace by country musicians and audiences of urban-initiated country rock and progressive country music and those urban musics' recasting of rural-identified iconry,

[25] The title of this subsection is inspired by individual albums by country singer K.T. Oslin and Cape Breton fiddler/singer Natalie McMaster, both titled *My Roots are Showing*. Oslin's album, particularly, is in line with a strategy (2b) described in this section as it was an admission by the erstwhile glitzy country-pop diva of her traditional country roots after she returned to recording in the mid-1990s after a quadruple bypass surgery. On that album, among others, Oslin covered songs popularized by hillbilly music pioneer

such as that of the cowboy, the outlaw, and the West; outlaw country musicians and the rural- or southern small-town-born among cosmic cowboy musicians exemplified this strategy. In the 1990s, it took the form of a reinvigoration of the cowboy imagery in the attire of Nashville's "hat-acts." (3) A variation of the above strategy is to recast the music as a "folk" or "authentic American roots music"; while folk revivalists typified that approach, in many later instances, for instance after the success of *O Brother! Where Art Thou?*, multiple projects were launched by Southern country musicians to redefine themselves as roots musicians. (4) Complete disavowal of rustic and regional markers by attempting to produce a regionally unmarked music: This strategic approach is exemplified in various phases of Nashville-produced music from the mid-1940s the present, most stellarly in the careers of Eddie Arnold, Jim Reeves, Glen Campbell, and Kenny Rogers, and phases of Garth Brooks' career. (5) A chauvinistic reembrace and assertion of the inherited group identity by recasting it through a redefinition of that group along a different set of lines—as a working-class, southerner, or a more patriotic and quintessentially American group. While the last of these groups of strategies worked to distance hard country music and its audience from urban America, whether mainstream or countercultural, the first three categories helped in bridging the gaps and bear further investigation.

To be sure, many performers have situated themselves, or found themselves positioned, on different points along the spectrum outlined above during the same career. Yet, as is the case with any ethnic minority, country-born musicians and audiences in their definition of group and individual identities have found themselves compelled to take into account ideas regarding their group identities that circulate in the cultural

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Jimmie Rodgers, traditional harmony duos the Delmore Brothers and the Louvin Brothers, and bluegrass stalwart Jimmy Martin.

mainstream. Like any ethnic or cultural minority group, in the midst of ever-increasing contact with mainstream America, country identities remain embattled, always obligated to respond to mainstream conceptions of what it means to be of or from "the country," especially the South.[26] The countercultural audiences' tentative interest in country music brought increasing number of musicians raised in country-identified regions into contact with urban, ostensibly more literate and sophisticated audiences. Their negotiations of identity differences involved one or a series of the abovementioned strategies. Urban-born musicians themselves have maintained a self-conscious distance from a non-discriminating embrace of country music. These negotiations become important to understand as the American countryside and its rustic dwellers had for long been the almost exclusive repositories of traditional pastoral musics before it was reintroduced into urban music, especially in the folk revival and counterculture periods.[27]

Strategy 1:"We're Nothing but a Bunch of Hillbillies!"

Country music was discovered by national media during a search for newer markets from which to generate revenues (Peterson 1992: 16). Whether their product was aimed at regional rural, semi-rural, or peri-urban audiences, or to some extent at national urban mainstream audiences, country musicians and their mainstream media promoters were served well to accentuate the differences of the music and its makers from the

[26] The question asked by Shreve McCannon, the Canadian in William Faulkner's "Absalom, Absalom!" of southerner Quentin Compson: "Tell me about the South. What's it like there? What do they do there? Why do they live there? Why do they live at all?" continues to weigh on the consciousness of Southerners.
[27] That does not imply that there was no pastoral music in the city. It does mean that the rise of popular music coincided with the rise of America's urban culture coming into its own and "Puttin' on the Ritz" was more representative of the early twentieth century than was "Swanee." Even in that era, when urban composers wanted to evoke the pastoral they usually had to look to the South (*Oklahoma!*) or "folk" music of the region (for instance, "Hoedown" from Copland's *Appalachian Spring*). In other instances, they had to draw on the West and the idea of its music, whether cowboy or old-time or Native American.

existing popular mainstream genres.[28] This would have ensured that the new product would not be competing with mainstream musical product but rather adding to the industry's overall haul. Most early country musicians' sense of who they were, especially as artists recording for urban producers and marketed through urban media, also fully took into account the differences between their relatively rustic culture and the urban sophistication of their producers. Their references to their own culture were either marked by self-deprecation, which often verged on self-mockery, or by a celebration of down-home values of family, religion, and a greater connectedness with nature that they felt they shared. The self-disparaging attitude was most common in live performance and presentation style while celebration of down-home values more often characterized choice of material and lyrical concerns.

In an instance of self-deprecating jest, Appalachian North Carolina-born string band leader Al Hopkins had referred to his band members as "nothing but a bunch of hillbillies" and in the process lent the whole newly recognized commercial genre a moniker with strong pejorative connotations (Peterson 1992: 196-197). It was this depreciative attitude toward the portrayed rustic identities that continued to characterize such radio barn dance shows as *Grand Ole Opry* and *Hee-Haw* for decades and such television shows as *The Beverly Hillbillies*.[29] This self-derisive manner continued to characterize the interaction with urban audiences of rural musicians who were willing to assume the stock identity of the rustic rube and we will encounter it again in a second

[28] I have borrowed the term peri-urban from Aaron Fox's piece, "'Ain't it Funny How Time Slips Away?' Talk, Trash, and Technology in a Texas 'redneck' Bar." Alongside semi-rural, it best defines the georgraphical location of "the culture" from whence country music emerged and where it was initially distributed; for instance Fiddlin' John Carson's 1923 recordings were initially pressed only in the peri-urban area around Atlanta.

[29] While performers in some shows, for instance *The Beverly Hillbillies*, may not have been fresh rural immigrants, still, as in the case of minstrelsy, the burden of responding to their caricatured group identities had to be borne by the ethnic group that was the object of the disparaging stereotypes.

period of increased contact between country musicians and urban audiences in the 1960s folk revival and country rock movements**.**

This negatively valuated country identity, always oppositionally defined in relation to an urban one and aided in no small part by external urban agencies, has not only continued to be a constantly negotiated part of the performed and lived identities of most country musicians, it has also influenced the identificational strategies of those who specifically have sought to live down these rural, southern, Appalachian, or conservative associations. The history of the Nashville-based country music industry is the history of negotiations between the regional rural identities of country artists and their aspirations to a more becoming image, negotiations often mediated through addition of fictional components. Social milieus and aimed-for markets have been major determinants in deciding how these components have been balanced in the projected identities of country musicians.

Strategy 2: Riding the Range: All Not Quite on the Western Front, Just in their Minds

Richard A. Peterson in *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* provides a detailed account of how the hillbilly performer came to don the outfit of the fictional silver screen cowboy and I do not wish to repeat that story here. Crucial to my central argument, however, is the fact that historical events in another media industry at another location did present to hillbilly performers an alternative and more complimentary identity to occupy and to varying degrees they have continued to borrow elements from this media confection, which they have integrated into their own definition of group and individual identities. Evidences of this reconfigured westernized identity abound in the

history of country music from the 1930s to the present—from Jimmie Rodgers' and Bill Monroe's "John B. Stetson hat(s)" to the "hat acts" of the 1990s' New Country.

The reference to the "John B. Stetson hat" above comes from one of Jimmie Rodgers' signature songs, "Blue Yodel #8 (Muleskinner Blues). Rodgers would later widely be acknowledged as the "father of country music." An astute image-monger, he was also an influential popularizer of the Western image for country artists, among many others. Bill Monroe, "the father of Bluegrass" music, from rural Western Kentucky leading a group of "hillbilly" musicians from Appalachia, made that song one of the signature vehicles for his revved up string band music, while also dressing up his band in Sunday suits and John B. Stetson cowboy hats, coming up with the perfect Southern Gentleman-meets-Western cowboy album.

During the countercultural era, now from a relatively safe temporal remove, musicians from both shores of the pond, country and urban, similarly shifted the definition of folk and country from types of Southern musics, to musics somehow associated with the vaguely-defined West. I will consider this in detail below in the identity maneuverings of urban countercultural era musicians, who made available more contemporary and cool hybrid identity types in addition to the Silver Screen cowboy for Southern rural-born musicians to try on for size. Southern and country-rooted artists as diverse as the Dillards, Earl Scruggs, Waylon Jennings, and Willie Nelson came to occupy, in part or whole, identities previewed by urban countercultural experimenters. And then there was a whole slew of artists and audiences from the liminal zones between country and urban, conservative and liberal, hidebound and free, the South and the West! Most participants in the Texas countercultural and progressive country scenes, for

instance, occupy points along the middle reaches of these spectra. For them the crucial question to answer was, "which side are you on?"

Strategy 3: "Bright Lights, Country(politan) Music"

Nashville's countrypolitan music clearly preceded the counterculture. This strategy has been explicated by a number of country music scholars including Bill C. Malone and Richard A. Peterson. I am not suggesting that Nashville country musicians resorted to a suit-and-tie image specifically in response to the emergence of the counterculture; in fact, the city's music establishment slowly, often begrudgingly, made discounts to meet the countercultural audience halfway. Countrypolitan's path crossed in a number of ways with countercultural era studio-based country rock, progressive and outlaw country, progressive bluegrass, and country folk and all of these overlaps are important to understand better how identificational distinctions were reflected in the resulting musics.

When it has seemed possible, many Americans have sought to discard their country markers. Upward mobility has been equable not only with movement along socioeconomic and literacy lines but also from rural and semi-rural to urban, and from rustic to urbane. This has been possible because unlike the identities of other ethnic minorities, the country identity is not marked by phenotypic markers but only regional cultural signifiers. Hence shedding a country identity has seemed a possibility to many Americans who have relocated to urban centers. There are many examples of musicians from rural, semi-rural, and small-town conservative America who have redefined themselves as urban pop and rock musicians.[30] Many other musicians, music promoters,

[30] Examples include Guns n' Roses singer W. Axl Rose.

and producers from similar locations have retained, willingly or not so willingly, some country music influence, but have projected their urbanized hybrid music as cosmopolitan adult contemporary music.[31] The latter has required and helped these musicians to redefine their identities in those terms, namely as cosmopolitan contemporary adults.

Charles Keil has observed the same trend of appropriating from "high culture" and "popular culture" in Polish-American polka and African American blues styles in the late 1920s and postulated this as the first stage of strategies in the acceptance and transcendence of the dominant class's stereotypes by an ethnic minority (Keil 1985:). That general tendency of elevating their art and group identities can definitely be ascribed to country musicians and producers in the first three decades of Nashville's prominence as a recording center. Still, musicians plying an updated yet distinctly ethnic flavored music such as polka were only attempting to make their group identity more complimentary. Country musicians have, however, often tried to elide any suggestions of a regional ethnic marginal identity by attempting music with no distinguishing cultural markers. Many musicians, for instance Glen Campbell, John Denver, and Kenny Rogers, moved to the West Coast to accomplish this, while in the 1960s and 1970s, many attempted this while still basing their operations in the South, especially in Nashville. Clearly, many more southerners had been accepted into the mainstream of American society by the 1960s, whether in politics or the arts, than at the start of the country music industry in the 1920s. After a decent showing in the adult contemporary music market by the likes of Patti Page, Rosemary Clooney, Eddie Arnold, Jim Reeves, and Elvis Presley and in the youth market by Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Johnny Cash, Buddy Holly, and

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[31] Most successful examples include Patti Page, Jim Reeves, Kenny Rogers,

Roy Orbison, southerners next responded to the new styles and cool identities offered by the counterculture. Their responses differed, however, as the counterculture's ideologies were less commensurable with southern traditional ones and posed a greater challenge to the latter than had those of a simple coming up in the world and aiming at "puttin' on the Ritz" with the Rockefellers.[32] Those who made the ideological crossing, especially early, would repeatedly get on the wrong side of those who did not or took longer.

Urban Americans' Negotiations with Country Musics and Identities: Selective Appropriations

Urban Americans, as promoters, producers, audiences, revivalists, and scholars of rural-identified American music, have had an ambivalent relation with it and especially with its traditional makers and audiences. While drawn to the music, whether because of business motives or the music's nostalgic or novelty appeal, urban Americans have mostly sought to make clear their own distance from any possible rural backgrounds. Unlike Old World natives, whose class memberships were deeply entrenched and necessarily inherited, Americans have had the opportunity to build their class credentials; urban roots, literacy, and high art have constituted strong cultural capital in constructing the identity of an American urban sophisticate. Additionally, unlike with other ethnic group identities, a country identity has no phenotypic markers; hence following urban migration, it can potentially be a single generation phenomenon. Thus the ever present awareness among white Americans of the *hierarchical* demarcation between urban and rural with no corresponding phenotypic markers makes it possible and all the more vital for them to (re)define their individual location along that divide through acquiring and

[32] Reference to the lyric of Irving Berlin's 1929 song, "Puttin' on the Ritz."

projecting prominently the category of markers that count in the national market, namely cultural. Economic rewards and markers often ensue.

While I do not have access to early hillbilly music producer and promoter Ralph Peer's detailed family history, Richard A. Peterson suggests that the reason old-time music's appeal was lost on early popular entertainment industry impresarios might have been their need to escape their own rural roots in the not-so-distant past. Such first- or second-generation urbanites' aversion to "the image of rural poverty and small-town morality that so many in the rapidly urbanizing American society were trying to escape," evoked by old-time fiddling was likely the reason for Peer's dismissal of the aesthetic appeal of Fiddlin' John Carson's music with the latterly-famous description "pluperfect awful." Peer's publicity photographs stressed his credentials as an urban sophisticate, and his press comments derided and exaggerated the rusticity of his artists to emphasize his position in relation to them (Peterson 1992: 6-7). Peer in that sense may have been an early countrypolitan, who, however, reserved the sophisticated image for the producer/promoter. In fact, through the makeover and disavowal of country markers, Peer's generation of urban immigrants were able to align themselves with urban sophisticates.

As mentioned earlier, during and since the 1930s' Appalachian folk revival, and especially since the later folk revivals centered in the 1940s in Greenwich Village and spread across the urban North in the late 1950s and 1960s, other sections of urban Americans have also been drawn to rural musics. Smitten by nostalgic visions of an earlier arcadian America, they have sought a musical soundtrack to those visions. Just as Renaissance and later art music composers in Europe found the emblem of pastoral life in the sound of the shepherd's flute, folk revivalists looked to the music of the supposed

folk who had occupied that earlier rural America. By then, however, these folk were scarce in the largely urbanized north and thus identified as sequestered in the hollows of Southern highlands such as the Appalachia and Ozarks. No wonder that folk revivalists were attracted to certain aspects of the identities of rural Americans, just as long as they could be classified as primitive agrarian ancestors.[33]

Accordingly, their approach to country music and its baggage of identity markers has been circumspect and usually re-definitional. In the earlier phases of such appropriation of elements of country music, urban musicians were careful to adopt only those musical styles upon which they could easily bestow primeval "folk" credentials. Thus urban enthusiasts deemed as perfect candidates for appropriation such acoustic musics as Carter Family-style early country music, Appalachian ballad singing, coal mining and protest music, and the contemporary but acoustic genre of bluegrass, all nostalgically projected as the music of America's shared rural past and not necessarily as a music connected with a specific region such as the South, associations with which were best elided. While urban folk revivalist musicians attempted faithful reproductions of rural-identified musics, they seldom adopted any other identity markers of the people associated with those musics, assuming instead the stance of urban connoisseurs, scholars, and archivists of America's rural past. This studied distance from their subjects is evidenced among other things in the appearance and dress style of folklorists and ethnomusicologists and in the manner in which folklorists Alan Lomax and Ralph Rinzler, for instance, interviewed and presented their "discoveries" to urban audiences. Live recordings of concerts, liner notes to records by labels such as Moses Asch's Folkways, and photographs capturing folk revivalists' dress codes bear testimony to the

[33] See William Goodell Frost, *Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains* and Rosenberg, *Transforming Tradition*.

maintenance of this studied distance. These scholars continued, to varying extents, the postures of early ballad collectors such as Francis James Child and Cecil Sharp, although they embraced a much wider variety of music, whose scope was nonetheless limited by these folk enthusiasts' conception of "folk" and their ideas of authenticity.

Starting with the mid- to late 1960s' folk- and country-rock movements in American popular music, though, the webs of identity became more tangled. While largely these post-folk revival musics could be characterized as musics made by urban youth and addressed to the same demographic, many bluegrass and country musicians with rural roots were soon playing their own hybrids to the same city audiences at campuses, festivals, and coffee shops, and through recordings. The stance of both groups of musicians, urban-bred and country-raised, who often played together on the same session or stage, with regard to identifying or being identified with things "country" would continue to be marked by a degree of discomfort and would be negotiated variously by different groups of musicians.

The strategies that many bluegrass and country musicians employed in the 1960s and 1970s for accommodating a stigmatized country identity while performing for urban youth country rock audiences echoed those that "hillbilly" and Nashville country musicians had used over the previous half century. Satirizing one's own rural upbringing always drew a few laughs. So, early in their careers playing to urban audiences at folk clubs in the Los Angeles area, the Dillards, a bluegrass group originally from the Missouri Ozarks, deployed this rustic hick identity to endear themselves to their folk revival audience (Doggett, 2001). The group had ridden that identity into the hearts of Americans nationwide as the Darlings Boys featured on *The Andy Griffith Show*. At this point they were tapping more into their national appeal as lovable small screen hillbillies,

just as Flatt & Scruggs were doing coming off the success of *The Beverly Hillbillies,* than as "folk" performers. Bluegrass thus entered the national mainstream first as a hick regional novelty. "We're all hillbillies," was the standard refrain in this phase of the Dillards' careers.

Still, some even more archaic and serious sounding southern artists such as Kilby Snow, Clarence Ashley, Maybelle Carter, and Roscoe Holcomb were being presented as "folk" artists by savvy folk revivalists. The next generation of urban youth, which included such future rock musicians Jerry Garcia, Robert Hunter, David Grisman, Chris Hillman, Herb Pedersen, John Sebastian, Maria Muldaur, Jorma Kaukonen, David Bromberg, would be less concerned with the "authenticity" discourse, as the hootenannies and jug-band revival's aesthetic of "make a joyful noise" took hold. This generation of urban musicians, by 1964-65, had become more interested in using southern musics rather than preserving and idolizing them. Two influences stood apart from all others in this opening up this new direction—the poetic success of Bob Dylan and the mass appeal of the Beatles. By 1965, the Beatles' instrumentation had been married by the West Coast group the Byrds to Dylan's imagistic lyrics. The resounding success of their version of Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man," released in April 1965, sealed the new "folk rock" direction of American youth music. For the Byrds, the folk and bluegrass training of Chris Hillman and outboard guitarist Clarence White did shape the sound, but this generation was not interested in purism. Dylan soon fought that storied battle at Newport Folk Festival 1965, and by the next year had clearly emerged victorious. The progressive and eclectic outlook of this generation needed help for artistic material from traditional sources, but this cohort was just starting the process of defining its difference from mainstream America and its categories. This ferment afforded

southern musicians room to move into other, more complimentary, identities and roles than that of the "hillbilly."

Like most other country-raised musicians who moved to the West Coast or the urban centers in the North to capitalize on the burgeoning country rock movement, the Dillards, who were the preeminent bluegrass exponents on the West Coast, strove continuously to redefine their identities as no less hip than their collaborators and audiences. This was clearly evidenced in their self-conscious shifts in music and image. Between *Backporch Bluegrass* (1963), *Wheatstraw Suite* (1968), and *Roots and Branches* (1972), the group's public image went from a hillbilly bluegrass band in overalls in 1963, to urban mods in turtlenecks in 1968, to hirsute hippie ranchers in 1972. Parallel developments can be seen in the music and careers of many other country musicians from the late 1960s and 1970s, signally bluegrass banjoist Earl Scruggs, and Texas-born Nashville country music artists Waylon Jennings and Willie Nelson. Another ploy for coming up in the world was to collaborate with urban rock musicians, not only as sidemen, but as equal members in country rock groups, as did Doug Dillard with the Dilllard and Clark Expedition and Byron Berline with the Flying Burrito Brothers, for instance.

By the start of the 1970s, urban musicians who had started merging elements of country music with folk- and soft-rock sounds, often employing country-raised musicians, felt increasingly discomfited by the southern conservative associations of country music (Griffin 1985: 10-11; Malone 1979: 128-129). A number of encounters with the reality of the mentality represented by the people whose music southern country was led to a hardening of the dividing lines between the two camps, which had become slightly more permeable in the spirit of the hootenannies and the Age of Aquarius.

Their choice of relocating their mythical country in the equally mythical and still malleable West echoed the earlier shift in country music from hillbilly to cowboy and country and western. This shift was announced signally by the change in direction of country rock announced by the genre's leading purveyors, the Flying Burrito Brothers, on the recording of "Colorado," the opener on the group's third and eponymous album, recorded in 1970. The sound of that track and the rest of that album was a significant departure from the Gram Parsons' led hard-country and deep southern soul inspired "Cosmic American Music" country rock hybrid that had marked the group's first album, *Gilded Palace of Sin*, on which Parsons was the lead singer and de facto musical director, and that had continued on the transitional second album *Burrito Deluxe*. The third album, by contrast, was not a celebration of southern musical styles, as most of Gram Parsons' preceding and subsequent music was intended to be. Rather it featured expansive studio soft rock with country-associated instruments such as the pedal steel guitar, the mandolin, and the banjo used not idiomatically, but for embellishment, flavoring, and spatial effect. The album previewed the style that soon would prove the dominant country rock hybrid that would cross over to the mainstream with sweeping success, signally through the work of the Eagles, but also through a whole clique of LA area artists including Jackson Browne, J.D. Souther, members of Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, members of the Byrds, and Dan Fogelberg.[34]

[34] Neither the Eagles nor the 1970s' version of the Flying Burrito Brothers were the progenitors of this hugely successful hybrid country-inflected soft rock sound. Early examples of this sound are heard in the works of Gene Clark and the Gosdin Brothers, Buffalo Springfield ("Sad Memory," "Expecting to Fly," "I am a Child"), the Byrds ("Hickory Wind"), The Dillard and Clark Expedition ("Out on the Side," "Through the Morning, through the Night," "Polly," "The Radio Song," "Train Leaves Here This Morning"), Crosby, Stills and Nash ("Guinevere"), Bob Dylan ("Lay Lady Lay"), Mason Proffit ("You Want Her back Again"), Rick Nelson ("Anytime"), and Gordon Lightfoot ("Softly"). Burritos' "Colorado" just signally and sonically captures an acute turn in the direction of a group of musicians who were central to both the late 1960s and the 1970s country rock sensibilities. Chris Hillman at this point let his progressive bluegrass inclinations drop to the background as an expansive soft rock sound captured the mainstream imagination; Bernie Leadon, similarly moved toward integrating similar progressive bluegrass inclinations with the

By 1968, West Coast based progressive musicians enamored of country music's sound had already had abrasive contact with country music's rightful proprietors. In 1968, the Byrds, recorded their country encomium *Sweetheart of the Rodeo* in Nashville, and became the first rock group to appear on the *Grand Ole Opry*. The encounter with the South, however, was far from pleasant and inspired the lyrics of Gram Parson's 1969 song "Drug Store Truck Driving Man," directed at Nashville DJ Ralph Emery (Doggett 2000: 67-68). Other media also capture how the South, the bastion of traditional country music that the West Coast country rockers were appropriating, was viewed with suspicion by the urban counterculture. For instance, Peter Fonda's character Captain America in 1969's countercultural landmark movie *Easy Rider*, remarks, "Don't go through Texas. They'll shave your hair and put you in jail." More grating encounters would soon follow.

With their first two albums, the Flying Burrito Brothers, the next Parsons-Hillman collaboration, had already moved away from the traditional country themes and sounds of *Sweetheart of the Rodeo* into more contemporary youth and rock cultural lyrical themes, among them groupies ("Devil in Disguise"), gambling ("Sin City"), drugs ("Juanita"), draft dodging ("My Uncle"), and the call of the open road ("Wheels"). The group had however retained a sound with strong southern influences based in honky-tonk country and Muscle Shoals "deep soul," a marriage Parsons dubbed "Cosmic American Music." Following Parsons' departure, however, Hillman, with Parsons' replacement, Rick Roberts, moved the group's sound squarely into an expansive and decidedly urban mainstream soft-rock territory, although retaining embellishments provided by country

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emerging soft-rock sound that he next brought to the Eagles' instrumentation; the youngest entrant Rick Roberts represented the new breed of sensitive introspective singer-songwriters whose interest in country was tangential to begin with and would increasingly drop to the background as new languages were developed to capture pastoral space without resort to sampling the sounds of country music.

instrumentation. In songs featuring allusions to the countryside, usually depicted as an idyllic haven, as on Roberts' "Colorado," the pastoral home was now relocated to another country, not in the stagnant culture of the hills and hollows of the southern highlands but in wide-open mountainous West.

Colorado soon became a favorite setting for a number of songs that now relocated the backdrop of action, or dreamy inaction, from the "hills of home," a favorite locus in country music, to the Rockies. Stephen's Stills' Manassas' "Colorado," Danny Hollen's "Colorado," John Denver's "Guess He'd Rather Be in Colorado," "Rocky Mountain High," and "Starwood in Aspen," and Pure Prairie League's "Boulder Skies" painted expansive reverberant dreamy soundscapes, typically tinged with instrumentation and styles born of country music, usually behind songs of aching nostalgia for a mountain home left far behind in an imagined past. The location of the protagonist's home, however, was not in a specific American rural reality, but rather in Arcadian fantasy. It is worth noting that none of these artists had their roots securely in the urban middle or upper class of the Northeast or the West Coast—Rick Roberts hailed from South Carolina, Denver and Stills from Texas, and Pure Prairie League's leader Craig Fuller from Portsmouth, Ohio, on the edges of Appalachian hill country. Their identities as sensitive intellectual seventies' singer-songwriters, with additional countercultural overtones acquired through hip Western-influenced chic apparel displayed prominently on album sleeves, quashed any doubts about possible country roots before they could become a concern.

Similarly, urban country rock artists who did feature a setting in the South—for instance, Michael Martin Murphy in "Carolina in the Pines," James Taylor in "Carolina in My Mind," and Livingston Taylor in "Carolina Day,"—focused on the sylvan

topography and sometimes a fantasized love interest but rarely spoke of the people who in reality populated these locales. California wine country's poet laureate Kate Wolf's "Carolina Pines," might present a less rosy reverie, yet it paints a pastoral of regretful nostalgia for an idyllic domestic past. In none of these lyrics is there a sense of the singer being an insider member of any regional people. This is likely one typology of expressions of a phenomenon that Linda Graber has identified as "the wilderness ethic." Michele D. Dominy explains Graber's postulation as an urban phenomenon wherein urban dwellers often erase high country inhabitants from the landscape in an attempt to expurgate the pastoral frontier of its rural identity and redesignate it as "remote wilderness, a site for urban-based identities located in ecological paradigms"(Dominy 1997: 237-238).[35]

Country rock's country fascination was with the countryside, preferably without a country culture. Michael Martin Murphey, clearly one of the most prominent and influential country rock or progressive country musicians to believe in and further the myth of the American West and a western countryside, expressed it best, "so much American music is starting to talk about man's relationship to the earth—getting back to the land and identifying more with nature. It's not country music as much as it is the experience of living in the country. You might call it *Whole Earth Catalogue* music..." (Reid 1974: 249) The lyrics of his song "Boy from the Country" from his debut album, *Geronimo's Cadillac*, leave little doubt that he is not imagining himself as one of the "good ole boys" from a specific country culture.

[35] In New Zealand, this phenomenon has taken the form of physical extradition of rustic inhabitants to create wilderness areas. I am not aware of parallel information from the United States. In country rock, however, expurgation of rustic inhabitants from the wilderness is a mental phenomenon of fantastical imagining of the countryside as sylvan paradise.

Because he called the forest "Brother"
Because he calls the Earth his mother
They drove him out into the rain
Some people even said the boy from the country was insane

Because he spoke to fish in the creek
He tried to tell us that the animals could speak
Who knows? Perhaps they do
How do you know they don't just because they've never spoken to you?

Boy from the country
Left his home when he was young
Boy from the country
He loves the sun.

He tried to tell us we should love the land
We just turned our heads and laughed; you see we did not understand
Sometimes I think the boy from the country is the only one who sees
'Cause the boy from the country doesn't want to see the forest for the trees.

Murphey's protagonist, a likely embodiment of his own self-conception, is a lone Thoreauesque character in communion with nature and its creatures and possessed of an unassuming innocent candor of the boy from the Grimm brothers' "The Emperor's New Clothes." His identity is with an undespoiled nature in a mythical country, not with America's country culture. Once, Murphey's collaborator and friend Bob Livingston asked him to visit India as both of their wives "were running around there." Murphey replied, "I can't go to the East and leave the West." Bob asked, "Why?" Murphey responded knowingly, "I *am* the West." Touché! (Personal communication with Bob Livingston)

Not surprisingly, country rock found mainstream acceptance only after its urban perpetuators disidentified in ideology and content from country music. Of course, a significant factor in that popular success was the urban youth audience's identification with the escapist fantasies expressed in such songs as James Taylor's "Sweet Baby James," "Country Road," "Carolina in My Mind," and Matthews' Southern Comfort's "Woodstock," which were some of the first country rock singles to chart (Whitburn

1992). Yet an equally important precondition was that the songs be light on the country and heavy on the pastoral, often western, component. Over the next few years urban performers repeatedly made public this disidentification with country music's culture.

Neil Young, after LA folk- and country-rock group Buffalo Springfield's dissolution in 1968, was emerging as the highest regarded songwriter among the turn of the decade performers in those genres. Thus his rallying cries against the South's bigotry and racism in "Southern Man" and "Alabama" became the most storied examples of the country rock contingent clarifying their position with regard to the southern home of country music. But there were many other episodes wherein counterculturists, whether from without or even from within the South, who did the same.

In 1969's landmark countercultural movie *Easy Rider*, Peter Fonda's character, Wyatt, warns Dennis Hopper's character, Billy, against traveling through Texas, "They'll cut your hair and put you in jail." When the two riders do reach New Orleans, they are thrown in the jail cell for marching in a parade on motorbikes without license. Once released with the help of fellow inmate and lawyer George Hanson, played by Jack Nicholson, they visit a local restaurant and become embroiled in a formulaic encounter between freedom seeking urban "American" individuals and festering cultural tradition, as exemplified by the South. George, although a southerner, summarizes the filmmakers' and the North's historical interpretation of postbellum South, "This used to be a hell of a good country. I can't understand what's gone wrong with it." Their carefree attitudes, on display earlier in the day, had been enough to draw the ire of some locals who soon brutally and fatally club George, one of South's own who decided to break with its ways by associating with strangers. In the last scene, both Fonda and Hopper are themselves blown to kingdom come for no discernible reason by a couple of truck-driving rednecks,

perhaps just because they are rankled by the bikers' appearance and free ways. The outro lament, "Ballad of Easy Rider" sung by the Byrds' Roger McGuinn and co-composed with Bob Dylan, drives home the movie's point,

> All he wanted
> Was to be free
> And that's the way
> It turned out to be
> Flow river flow
> Let your waters wash down
> Take me from this road
> To some other town

Counterculture represents the original American spirit of freedom and the pilgrim's way of seeking it through movement. Festering tradition is the antithesis of this spirit and the South just embodies that decay at its worst.[36]

A number of other prominent incidents led to a hardening of battle lines between counterculturalists and tradition-bearers, typically associated with the South. Honky-tonk country singer Merle Haggard's "Okie from Muskogee" and "Fighting Side of Me" seemed to take a stand for southern tradition and patriotism as the "real America." While Haggard has since dismissed a literal reading of the lyrics, his traditional southern audiences did take it literally making the song an anthem of the southern way. Many others have followed, including "Sweet Home Alabama," southern rock band Lynyrd Skynyrd's riposte to Neil Young's aforementioned attacks, "The South's Gonna Do it Again" by Charlie Daniels, and "If the South Would Have Won" by Hank Williams Jr.

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[36] The movie only summarizes what in postbellum American history has been a conceptual tradition. Every southern conservative president viewed as representing conservative tradition at its most deleterious, for instance, has been strongly linked by blue-state Americans to his raising, while every president from the same South whose career has been regarded complimentarily has been viewed independent of the roots of his raising. The contrary seems to be equally true. For instance, Washington Dispatch writer Greg Lewis, described Lynyrd Skynrd's message in "Sweet Home Alabama" and George Bush's manifesto as the embodiment of the American, and not just Southern, traditional way of thinking—all that defines America's essence. Lewis described Neil Youngs' message in the aforementioned songs as as bogus as rival candidate John Kerry's in the 2004 presidential electoral campaign, both deservedly rejected by real Americans. Greg Lewis quoted on the Neil Young fans website: http://www.thrasherswheat.org/2004/11/lynyrd-john-george-neil.html , accessed on Oct 14, 2008.

Southern artists' responses to counterculture's liberal challenge has since become a tradition among southern country artists wherein they have projected the South as the more patriotic and American of the two large regions in the country, that have since the last two elections been redefined as red and blue states, or Jesusland and the United States of Canarica.

The majority of country rock musicians and audiences never really identified with country music and definitely not with country dwellers and audiences. As in the case of earlier generations of urban promoters of hillbilly music, a never-too-distant rural past possibly continued to be a factor in first- or second-generation urban Americans' conscious distancing from identification with or as country (Green 1981: 164; Endres 2008: personal interview). Country rock musicians who did unabashedly admit their love for traditional country music, especially two of the that genre's progenitors, Gram Parsons and Chris Hillman, never did find a wider acceptance for their traditional country music projects and were often frustrated at the success of the more mainstream country-inflected soft rock sounds of such groups as the Eagles (Einarson 2001: 234).

It would be fair to surmise that among urbanites, musicians and audiences least likely to incur the risk of stigmatization with a country identity have often been the ones to openly embrace the more traditional country musics as well as the unabashedly traditional works of country rock artists. A seemingly contesting hypothesis by Richard Peterson (1975: 501) states that country music is likely to be adopted by people most similar to the identities projected in the music. Peterson views this as the reason for the success of country music with poor working-class whites, irrespective of their geographical origins. I do not, however, find that postulate in contradiction with my

claim here. It is specifically the upwardly mobile Americans unsurely perched mid-way between those two socio-economico-geographical poles, working-class and/or rural and middle-class urban, who are most uncomfortable in their relation with country music and its suggestions of an unbecoming identification with the rustic and the unsophisticated.

Parsons, although a southerner, had Harvard credentials and an inheritance that distanced him socio-economically from any possible implications of actually having been a country hick. Some of Parsons' biggest continuing cults and country rock and country music's diehard fan bases have also been located outside of America, where enthusiasts of traditional country do not run the risk of being identified as country. This is immediately apparent from the fact that most major yet now obscure country rock albums have been kept in circulation on compact disc by record labels based in Japan, England (BGO), Australia (Raven), and Germany (Bear Family) and much of the data about out-of-print albums is only available at Internet websites hosted in one of these countries.

Like Parsons, Rhodes Scholar Kris Kristofferson's relatively safe distance from a rural identity allowed him to choose to market his literate singer-songwriter poetics through the Nashville country music industry without fear of his own identity being implicated as country. His disidentificational gestures of dress, image, and now legendary antics worked toward further emphasizing that distance between his urban cowboy poet persona and the conservative Southern identities of his colleagues. I do not mean persona here in the disparaging sense of a façade or fabricated image but more in terms of the public image, which might very well be an expression of Kristofferson's perceived self-identification. Kristofferson's signal gesture of disidentification from the Nashville country establishment that is best remembered by most observers came at the 1970

Country Music Association awards when he walked in drunk at the coat-and-tie ceremony, dressed in his bell-bottomed jeans (Green 1981: 160-161).

Whether such gestures were studied contrarian moves, which may be seen as a necessary manifestation of any individual*istic* ideology, central in different ways to the American, the Texan, and the countercultural identity, or expressions of an existential individuality is difficult to prove in this specific case, as it is in general. In an earlier work, I had drawn attention to this distinction by calling the latter "the condition of being an individual," theoretically a tenuous concept which I have since found to have also been proposed by Edward Relph as "existential outsideness." Kristofferson's songs repeatedly attempt to convey the notion of a condition of being an individual, a state neither aimed for nor desired, but rather an experiential reality. While *individualism,* the *shared* ideology of valorizing individuation and individual identity over group identities, is more characteristic of some societies and epochs than others and can be studied in the expressions of their members (Marcus 1991: 9, Fitzgerald 1993: 55), the *condition of being an individual* is a more nebulous concept inadequately theoorized. Perceptually, it is experienced in the sense expressed to an extent in the conventional lexical words alienation, disengagement, estrangement, and disenchantment, all of which imply a slow erosion with time and individual growth of cultural identifications tentatively adopted in earlier phases of human life. More specifically, I mean it in a sense of an *ab initio* inability to identify or to share much intellectual, moral, or emotional common ground with other humans. Unlike individualism, which is marked by a pride in individuation, the putative and at least experienced "condition of being an individual" is marked by frustration at, but finally a resignation to, the inability to identify. This perceptual

experience, I have also designated with the neologism *notidentification*.[37] What is of the essence in interrogating Kristofferson's songs, as many composed by other country rock and progressive country songwriters, in terms of identities articulated is not whether his articulation of the state of being an individual was a true expression of his experience or a mere fabrication fueled by the individualist zeitgeist of the 1960s, but whether that expression of notidentification itself struck an identificational note with an audience. Again in assessing the audience's identification with the expressed notidentification, so to speak, one cannot ignore the influence among this audience of prevailing cultural and ideological currents, specifically individualism.

Kris Kristofferson became the central instigator of the progressive and outlaw country movements in the Nashville mainstream country music industry and his most significant expressions of disindetification or notidentification emerged in his lyrics. At a time when Bakersfield rival Merle Haggard was finding success with hardcore country audiences through appealing to class, regional, state, national and other forms of group consciousness in songs such as "Working Man Blues," "Okie from Muskogee," and "Fighting Side of Me," Kristofferson was marketing, through a country music infrastructure, distinctly individual identities. What did these individual identities have to do with country and why chose Nashville to market these?

Kristofferson, like other such individualist artists as Michael Murphey who drew upon country music for sonic and imagistic material to structure or embellish their statements of an inability to identify, of notidentification, of existential outsideness, of the condition of being an individual, was selective in his borrowing from country and western music. While focusing on the country aspect inevitably carries the risk of

[37] Expressing, in the process, my partial identification with a Faulknerian linguistic tradition.

hitching the appropriator's identity to a specific group, turning to the western allowed these musicians to appropriate part-mythic and still malleable individualistic identities and shape the malleable outlines of these pliant figures to their own desired self-identifications. In cowboys, lone rangers, Indian warriors, Robin Hood outlaw figures, and all manner of desperate strangers-to-the-civilized-world, who, of necessity, had had to ride the range alone through two centuries of American literary and media landscape, country rock and progressive country musicians and audiences found characters with whose notidentification, they could identify.[38] While some of their songs attempted to revive the legend of such actual historical characters as Jesse James, Cole Younger, the Dalton brothers, and John Wesley Harding, more often their protagonists were desperate lone rangers on a contemporary urban range.

A common expression of these individuals' inability to identify with their fellow humans emerges in the lyrics as a kind of inevitable but undesired freedom that is not necessarily boasted as a badge of individualism but rather confessed as an unfortunate existential condition to which the protagonist is fated. Kris Kristofferson's "Me and Bobby McGhee," and "Burden of Freedom" and Don Henley and Glenn Frey's "Desperado" most clearly articulate this notidentificational experience, but a whole catalog of Kristofferson songs including "Duvalier's Dream," "El Coyote," "Jesse Younger," "Johnny Lobo," "Killing Time," "Pilgrim, Chapter 33," and "Kiss the World Goodbye," allude to it.

It is recognized today that identity is a process (Fitzgerald, 1993: 47; Frith 1996: 110) rather than a static reality mired in inheritance and immediate culture. Identity equally speaks to ways of imagining oneself as to those of being. Fantasy and the way

[38] For a detailed account of the history of the media cowboy from mid-nineteenth century through 1970s Austin progressive country movements, see Archie Green, "Austin's Cosmic Cowboys: Words in

humans fancy themselves are equally important components of their identities as are the traits and markers acquired through the circumstances of birth and raising (Frith 1996: 123). In fact, the former are more important to an individual identity while the latter more pertinent to a group identity, especially one levied from without. The degree of distance between a group identity, inherited through the incident of birth, and an individual perceived identity differs between individuals. While contingent upon a number of factors, the achieved, or at least desired, distance between the two identities depends upon the perceived degree of inadequacy of the outwardly defined group identity in representing the perceived or desired self-identity, and upon the desire to valorize the latter as more representative of one.

The urban South, in cities such as Atlanta and Austin, itself developed vibrant versions of the 1960s and 1970s underground youth culture. Its members, in their minds, aligned themselves with the national and international progressive youth culture. Yet from the outside, residents of the South, irrespective of their self-identification, continued to be viewed with a certain derision that has historically characterized urban sophisticates' response to rustics. Cliff Endres, underground journalist and member of the youth culture in both aforementioned cities confirmed that when in New York, Southern counterculturists were immediately slotted as "cowboys" as soon as their culturally inherited aural markers surfaced. Endres also drew my attention to the last verse of Gary P. Nunn's "London Homesick Blues," a song that in 1975 became the enduring theme song of the *Austin City Limits* TV show. The line, "and they said you're from down South, and when you open your mouth, you always seem to put your foot there," finally was adopted as a proud became a proud badge of a distinctive regional contrarian culture.

Collision."

The song's chorus, "I wanna go home with the armadillo, good country music from Amarillo and Abilene, the friendliest people and the prettiest women you've ever seen," supplied an anthemic power to this hybrid regional countercultural identity.

Southern musicians and audiences, inspired by the international underground culture, thus sought and found their own alternative identities and spaces which these could comfortably inhabit. Their maneuverings were equally bricolagic to those of their Northern and West Coast urban counterparts, except that their borrowing of aspects of regional myth, history, and identity was from closer home and often from a lesser historical remove. When Waylon Jennings called for a return back to "Luckenbach, Texas," and "back to the basics of love," he was resurrecting a pre-modern space and identity that Southerners had lost in their efforts to "keep up with the Joneses" from elsewhere in the nation.[39] But Waylon and Willie found attractive pieces of their identificational and spatial bricolage from a place closer to home, unlike urban country rockers and other Arcadia seekers who had to travel further through time and space to find their utopias.[40]

In addition to song lyrics, album covers are instructive in urban culture's and counterculture's influences on their counterparts in the South. The countrypolitan elite of Nashville and mainstream urbanizing South emulated the black-tie elite culture of the

[39] "Luckenbach, Texas (Back to the Basics of Love)" composed by Bobby Emmons and Chips Moman. Reached Number 1 spot on the country Top 40 on May 21, 1977, and also crossed over to the pop charts, peaking at Number 25. Released on the RCA "outlaw country" album *Ol' Waylon*, which topped country album charts and reached # 15 on the pop album charts. RCA had been responsible for pushing the outlaw country image in the national countercultural market with the 1976 platinum-selling compilation album *Wanted: The Outlaws*.

[40] Luckenbach, Texas, is a small town in the Texas Hill Country, which became the home of progressive or outlaw country in the 1970s. The town near Fredericksburg was almost a ghost town in the late 1960s, until Hondo Crouch bought it and Jerry Jeff Walker and the Lost Gonzo Band recorded in 1973 an impromptu album, Viva Terlingua, at the town's dance hall. The album became a founding document of the progressive country movement. Memphis guitarist and soul producer Chips Moman and guitarist Bobby Emmons had apparently never visited the town and nor had Jennings. It was likely the more plausible and

North from the 1940s to the mid 1960s in their attempts to finding and selling a sophisticated unmarked non-regional identity.[41] In the late 1960s, covers of albums by country pop artists such as Glen Campbell, Area Code 615, and even Waylon Jennings attempting to align themselves with a sophisticated younger urban set show them replacing the suit and tie with the mod turtleneck and the brown suede sport jacket.[42] At this point their sartorial style is no different from that of Yankee Harvard graduate folk rock musician Tom Rush's.[43] By the early 1970s Jennings and Willie Nelson are able to draw upon both their own regional roots and their stylistic interpretations by urban "cowboy" poets to find images, identities, and spaces in which their selves rest easier. Luckenback, Terlingua, Dripping Springs, in the Central Texas Hill Country appeared in this scenario as an arcadian space ready for reappropriation as a communal idyll for spiritual kinfolks on the run from urban spaces and pretensions, whether of Los Angeles or Nashville. This was one more phalange of the counterculture's influence, and I believe we do a disservice to history when we limit our considerations of the phenomenon to artists such as the Beatles, Grateful Dead, and Pink Floyd. Inspired in part by the national counterculture, these were artists who were able to physically find their desired spaces and identities. Jerry Jeff Walker's album *Viva Terlingua*, the success story of *Austin City Limits* TV program, and the 1975 documentary *Heartworn Highways* that captures the communal life of the Texas singer-songwriter community at its peak (featuring Guy

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saleable connection between utopian small-town southwest and homecoming Texas musical renegades (than urban buckaroo aspirants) that encouraged the composition, recording, and success of the song.

[41] See Richard A. Peterson and Joli Jensen.

[42] It is important to recognize that the logic of viewing these artists as country musicians wears thin when we recognize that their aspirations were as unmarked popular musicians with broad appeal. It might have been just their cultural background that distinguished them as country musicians. But significantly "history" has slotted them as such.

[43] See cover of Tom Rush's *The Circle Game* (Elektra, 1968) in Chapter 3.

Clark, Steve Earle, Townes Van Zandt, Steve Young, and Rodney Crowell among others) are just some documents to this success.

In stark contrast to folk revivalists' use of the ostensibly "folk" from among country musics to the end of erecting an urban pre-industrial village community, one of the major agendas of non-country musicians who have employed country music elements subsequently has been to disidentify with groups and social systems and emphasize an individual identity. As characterizing a whole movement, the individuational strategies of country rock and progressive country songwriters may be viewed as reflecting their era's and their particular movement's individualist zeitgeist, a powerful influence at least within some specific groups and overall a rebellion against the complacency and grand ennui of Eisenhower-era middle class lives. Not finding attractive role models within mainstream America, urban youth looked to an illustrious lineage of individualist rebels from rustic America's colorful history. Disadvantaged rural Americans, understandably, historically had had less of a reason to conform. That is not to suggest that they have not conformed. Rural America has been viewed as America's conservative bastion too, and for good reason. This was something that some of the urban counterculturists and country rockers such as the Byrds discovered firsthand on their trips to Southern centers such as Nashville. Yet it was rural America that yielded the folk figure of the desperado, a category under which urban country rockers placed all manner of individualist breakaway peripatetic figures—cowboys, outlaws, train robbers, hobos, hitchhikers, itinerant singing troubadours, and even train engineers. The desperado figure became the counterculture's icon and eventually tragic hero.

A venerated lineage of rural-born American singer-songwriters identified with individualistic traits became a pertinent one to invoke in this regard. Jimmie Rodgers,

Woody Guthrie, Hank Williams, and Merle Haggard had lived the hard traveling lives that they wrote in song. They also continually invoked a longer lineage of loner figures populating American history and myth. While Guthrie, working outside of the country establishment and with self-supplied acoustic instrumentation, became viewed as a folk musician, the others, working within that establishment, were seen as individuals who shaped it. All of these supplied models both to the country rock and the progressive country music movements. Significantly, Merle Haggard's apparent stand for southern conservative uber-patriotism would run afoul of the urban progressives' ideologies by 1970, in one of many events highlighting the uncomfortable relationship of progressive counterculturists with the South.

Not only were the two movements and the identities of their participants very distinct to start with, there were many streams within each. Yet they increasingly became aware of the others and drew inspiration from each others' work and stances. Audience perceptions of continuities between the sounds, the themes, and the identities articulated through the music and projected through live performance and media led to further imbrication. These perceptions were also guided by countercultural media personnel encouraged by the record industry to confirm the links. Rolling Stone writers such as Chet Flippo, for example, were recruited by labels such as Atlantic and RCA to promote "outlaw country" albums by Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings to their primarily urban rock music audience. Waylon Jennings and Willie Nelson, for instance, had similar cultural backgrounds—small-town, rural, southwestern. Both worked through the Nashville establishment but eventually gained individual creative control through utilizing a rebel stance shared by their maverick country music idols, such as Jimmie Rodgers and especially Hank Williams, and the incoming countercultural ideology and

representatives, exemplified in Nashville by Kris Kristofferson. Kristofferson, John Denver, and Stephen Stills could be expected to have similar inherited identities too—"military brats" born in the southwest to continually on-the-move officers' families.

Waylon Jennings questions the homogenizing assembly line production techniques of Nashville's bosses in "Are You Sure Hank Done it This Way?" and Kristofferson emphasizes the connections between the individualistic heroes of "traditional country" and his 1970s progressive country in "If You Don't Love Hank." In identifying with such legendary individual(istic) troubadours, not only are these later musicians legitimizing their place in the American tradition of not following the herd (while actually operating under the same herders' patronage), they are creating a parallel stream of aspirant *individual*s, one that has lately been identified with the qualifier "alternative." Yet, this form of group disidentification of an audience with some identities (mainstream) in favor of choosing others (alternative, individualistic) is equally influenced by the possible identities available to try on for size, and already on offer through the media. Mythical western figures and individualist country and "folk" music troubadours have been some of the most attractive identity types among country rock and progressive country musicians. These latter musicians' various syntheses of elements of these identities have proved equally irresistible to their audiences.

While a degree of disaffection from their inherited group identity likely characterizes most people--except extreme conservatives and fanatics or those raised in staunchly traditional cultures--and likely spurs their search for alternative ways of imagining oneself, correspondence is never complete between their interpretation and an individual identity articulated by a musician or songwriter. This incongruity has been evidenced in some signal events in the history of country rock, and rock in general, where

artists have expressed their estrangement from their audiences or vice versa. In instances musicians have expressed their displeasure with the way audiences have misinterpreted, even travestized, their identificational expressions or creations. For example, Michael Martin Murphey in his song "Cosmic Cowboy, Part II" scoffed at Austin audiences' superficial dalliance with elements of Westernalia and counterculture, valuating his own and other early progressive country musicians' quest for the West as more authentic. The sarcastic tone of the Murphey's song, however, was lost on this audience who thought the song's title an apposite descriptor of the identity they were seeking (Reid 1974: 264). Estranged from the audience with whom he was making an unintended identification, Murphey was glad to "leave South Austin behind" by 1974.

Scholars have emphasized that a communicated authenticity, that is a genuine projection of the musician's identity, is the crucial criterion for the success of any music (Shank 1992). The success of Murphey's "Cosmic Cowboy, Part II" and Ray Wylie Hubbard's "Up Against the Wall Redneck Mother" with the same audience at whose group identities the songs' sarcasm was directed, however, suggests that audiences may often be little interested in how the identity articulated in a song relates to the performer's or the audiences' "genuine" identities. Their interest may lie in the suggested identities and may be limited to their own complimentary interpretations of those identities, which they can then occupy.

Yet other singers with more populist aspirations than Murphey, especially Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings, found inhabiting this fantastic identity of the part-hippie-part-individualistic American troubadour salubrious for their careers. Still, sharing of an identity between performing artists and their audiences can only follow the rule of the greatest common factor—what is shared in a communication, in this case of an identity,

cannot exceed that which can be, or is desired to be, understood by a given member of the audience. While an artist such as Kristofferson may express in his songs his estrangement and disappointment with the wider world, his audience, rather than taking it personally as an affront, turns around and directs the same statement at the rest of the mainstream, in the process aligning themselves with their alienated hero. Before one knows it, *Wanted! The Outlaws*, a progressive country album, projected as representing a break from mainstream country music and identities, becomes the first platinum-selling country album (much in the same way that the "alternative rock" group Pearl Jam in 1992 would sell a record-breaking near million copies of *Vs*. in the week of release) and the alternative becomes a parallel mainstream.

Spurring this need for such re-definition of identities is an always lurking dissatisfaction with any and all identities on offer in the community, in the market. While motifs of a Western country and desperate alienated individual(istic) characters surely speak to the individual identities of country rock and progressive country performers, pertinent to my main argument here is the fact that they also work to deflect associations with a hillbilly, redneck, or working class country identity. For those with relatively proximate links to such negatively valuated group identities, complimentarily reconfigured but still manipulable identities such as the "cosmic cowboy" offer glamorized versions of their inherited group selves (Green 1981: 164). For those without such links, such positively valuated constructed identities pose little risk of possible stigmatization as country.

A country identity in the United States remains an embattled identity. Uncomplimentary depictions of country identities in mainstream media make them uninhabitable without refurbishments. Musicians and audiences associated with country

music in any manner, therefore, are compelled to either demarcate their distance from a country identity, or to overhaul or at least fine tune their region-based identities to their liking. This section has attempted to delineate historically the major categories of identificational strategies that they have deployed to that end.

JAZZ IDENTITIES' RESPONSES TO THE COUNTERCULTURE

Jazz musicians' responses to the lure of commercially more viable popular musics, which came to include rock and roll and later rock music, constitute a topic easily deserving of a few monographs. So, I will not pretend to take on it in this work. I am interested here specifically in the crossovers in music and identities that the advent of the counterculture heralded. Obviously, this is only a stage in my larger attempt to understand the shared interests in spaces and the communicative codes through which jazz musicians were able to converse with countercultural audiences who were more competent in appreciating popular music that was simpler, at least harmonically and often technically. The counterculture era was the first time when both sides made an equal attempt to meet in the middle. It was not just typically high-minded jazz musicians, and even snootier jazz critics, who made concessions to or even overtures toward an ostensibly unsophisticated mainstream music, but the popular youth audience now reached out to meet them half way. Both were altered in the process. Jazz musicians increasingly found worth and even excitement in the period's inescapable spirit of change and willingly entered projects based on some common denominators. One of the most significant ones was a search for alternative spaces for the emerging hybrid Aquarian identities. Groundbreaking jazz musicians such as Sonny Rollins, Max Roach, and John Coltrane had, in fact, been responsible for broaching some such freer spaces. But the social space for their broad and

positive reception was opened up a few years down the line by changes in white youth society.

Of course, this period also saw some dismantling of the boundaries not just between jazz and rock musics but also identities. Like musicians trained in classical music, jazz musicians have always had to spend more time and effort in learning their craft than most vernacular musicians, say in folk, country, or blues fields. Thus, a certain elitism in their response to less sophisticated and demanding popular musics is unsurprising. Since the dawn of the twentieth century, though, both have had to wrestle with the lucrative temptations of meeting halfway the less cultivated competencies of popular audiences in different fields, whether mainstream pop, country, or blues. When the popular market for musical recordings emerged at the turn of the century, virtuoso opera tenor Enrico Caruso became the recording industry's top luminary; when classic female blues opened up the race market, accomplished stride pianists James P. Johnson and Willie "The Lion" Smith appeared behind female vaudevillian vocalists; when a couple of fortuitous recordings inaugurated the country market,[44] classically-trained light opera singer Vernon Dalhart stepped in to become its first million selling star. Such crossovers continued through each subsequently emerging popular music market or trend. Leaders and solo artists as well as instrumentalists had to make these choices, and most chose in favor of commercial sustenance, though not always unbegrudgingly. While the former might sometimes have had to compromise their claims to sophistication in making over their identities to meet their specific popular audiences halfway, jazz-trained instrumentalists who often stayed behind the scenes, whether Johnson and Smith in the 1920s or Barney Kessel, Howard Roberts, Tommy Tedesco, or Carol Kaye in the 1960s,

[44] The first commercial recording of rural southern white music featuring fiddlers Eck Robertson and Henry Gilliland in 1922 and the next major one of Fiddlin' John Carson in 1923 were both unplanned.

could easily slip in and out of pop sessions relatively unnoticed without worrying much about loss of face among sophisticated music crowds. By the end of the 1960s, however, the identity trait of "grooviness" had become an absolute indispensible for communication across the era's most significant cultural divide—hip versus square, with-it versus not, avant-garde versus old guard. The question was, "is you is, or is you ain't (groovy)?"[45] An identity makeover was absolutely required now.

Musicians from other races, cultures, countries were less Othered than those whose image placed them on the other side of the generational divide. The counterculture had defined itself specifically in contradistinction to 1950s' official attitudes. The divide was not even so much generational in terms of age, per se, as it was an attitudinal break with what age typically represented. Miles Davis, for instance, by being at the avant-garde of progressive creative ideation and ideology, made a comfortable crossover and was accepted by the counterculture as one of their own as well as a spiritual and musical movement leader of sorts. He was not the first to effect a jazz-rock fusion, yet he was accorded that position because he fit the latter bill better than younger musicians such as Gary Burton, Larry Coryell, and John McLaughlin, who had been dabbling in such amalgams.

Jazz started very much as a popular and populist music, but since the birth of bebop in the early 1940s jazz musicians in many enclaves have developed their own exclusionary elitism. Sometime in the 1970s, that elitist stance passed from bebop's originators to the white conservatory, which already had that stance regarding the Western classical music canons firmly ensconced there. Jazz's responses to popular cultural changes have generally been circumspect. Jazz musicians and connoisseur

[45] That question, as most of you might recognize, is inspired by the title of the Louis Jordan song "Is You Is or Is You Ain't (Ma Baby)?" The faux dialect of the first part of the line actually goes further back at

audiences, since bebop, developed a culture of insiderism, not unlike those in older art musics—the best music was supposedly made by the most accomplished musicians and only understood well by highly competent aficionados, who themselves often had had some official training in jazz. By the mid-to-late countercultural era, this attitude had seeped from the after-hours club milieu of bebop to the emerging jazz academy, which eventually mirrored the stance of the Western art music academy in the North American university. This, however, had at no stage precluded attempts at crossover by jazz artists; they only had to be prepared to relinquish some critical acclaim for the possibility of wider commercial success. Sometimes crossing over to what was itself an individual but separate subculture required no specific wooing on the jazz musicians' part. The beats, for instance, loved avant-garde jazz specifically for its inaccessibility, which paralleled the challenges they were presenting to time-honored traditions through their own literary and visual art. The beats also used bebop's frenetic tempos and spurty delivery patterns as inspiration for their literary rhythms. The beats are not specifically recognized for their musical contributions and mostly comprised a second discriminating listenership for "the new thing" jazz. 1960s' counterculturists, while deeply influenced by the beats' attitudes and tastes, sought a much more varied cultural and musical tapestry. And, by contrast, they started from folk revival music and rock and roll as springboards for their further eclectic excursions; jazz was just one of the many musics and cultures they sampled.

While the hipsters and the beats had desired identification with their artistic heroes, the black bebop or post-bop musicians, the counterculture did not identify itself as a jazz crowd. It also did not enjoy an artist-audience distinction. Counterculturists were out in the streets in huge numbers and enjoyed communal participation, at least the

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least to a 1921 story by Octavus Roy Cohen, a South Carolina Jewish author of black dialect fiction.

idea; those who courted the counterculture, whether they self-identified themselves as members or not, at least initially chose to indulge its participatory desire. In the first half of the 1960s, it was urban folk revival music and rock and roll that afforded many more participatory opportunities than made available by the exclusionary attitude and complex sounds of post-bop and avant-garde jazz. In the latter half, white musicians involved in performance in countercultural venues would bring the former two together to yield folk rock, country rock, and the rock supergenre as such. In the first two years of that amalgamation, from 1965 to 1967, that particular youth's consciousness and tastes expanded at a rate unprecedented in 20th-century history to the extent that by 1967's fabled Summer of Love, jazz could sit comfortably on the same stage at the Monterey International Pop Festival as North Indian classical music, urban folk, blues, soul, and psychedelic rock. It was all now part of a popular panoply. Now jazz had a new substantive audience to court, an audience that perhaps required less artistic compromise than had adult contemporary audiences since the heyday of big-band swing. The jazz styles that emerged from this new partnership deemphasized the original obsessions of complex bebop jazz in favor of aspects that needed little training to appreciate, and atmosphere and space took centre-stage in what was communicated, whether in the jazz rock of Miles Davis and his acolytes John McLaughlin, Chick Corea, Herbie Hancock, Joe Zawinul, Wayne Shorter, or Tony Williams, or the Afrocentric avant-garde jazz of Pharoah Sanders, Lonnie Liston Smith, or Leon Thomas, or the Latin jazz-rock of Santana, or the proto-New Age world jazz of Paul Winter Consort and Oregon, or the southern pastoral portraits of Marion Brown, or the mid-Western and Western pastoral jazz of Keith Jarrett and Pat Metheny, or the Nordic Pastoral Jazz of ECM artists such as

Jan Garbarek and Terje Rypdal, or the South American flavors of Egberto Gismonti, Airto Moreira and Flora Purim, and Gato Barbieri.

The identities that these musicians developed individually and as members of loosely-knit musico-cultural collectives were necessarily diverse; yet each took into account the possibilities that the counterculture had opened up. None represented the uptown jazz musician of yore, the type that the patron saint of the movement, Miles Davis, himself had belonged to for a quarter century. Davis did not only incorporate Jimi Hendrix's musical and sonic innovations but also sampled parts of his culturally-eclectic psychedelic rocker identity as is evidenced in any of his photographs from that period.

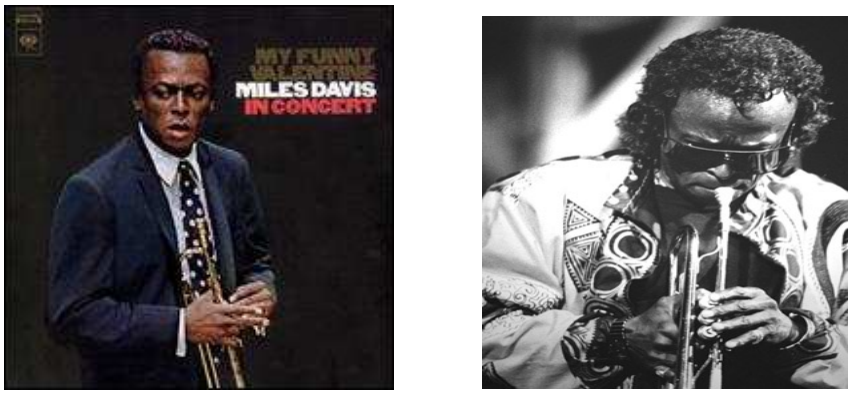

Fig 2.2: Miles Davis before and after counterculture's impact. Left: Cover of *My Funny Valentine* (1964), still appealing to the 1950s' generation. Right: sometime in the early 1980s—sporting an identity that spoke to both Hendrix's rock and Michael Jackson's and his own protégé Herbie Hancock's funk/disco constituencies. (Note: Hancock's initial launching pad was Miles Davis's group, but by 1973 he had surpassed his mentor's popular appeal charting the first "jazz" platinum-selling LP album.)

To understand how possibilities of appealing to audiences through identity politics expanded in the countercultural era, we might have to retrace our steps back to

the emergence of the significant youth market in the West with the advent of rock and roll. In the 1950s, the musicians who had the most consistent success with the then younger audience had one of two broad identity traits. Either they projected identities that audiences wished to inhabit, or ones that audiences fantasized being with. Given that almost all successful musicians of the rock and roll era were male, the former identificational scenario worked essentially for male audiences and the latter for female ones. For these teen and pre-teen audiences, jazz musicians represented outside identities that excited neither fantasy.

Significantly, the countercultural youth audience was older and open to other responsorial dynamics with regard to identificational relationships between artists and audiences. Most significant among these was the identity of a spiritual leader of sorts at whose feet acolytes sat to absorb music and wisdom. This dynamic was already in evidence when the then 40-year old Indian sitar maestro Ravi Shankar took the stage at 1967's Monterey Pop Festival. While in the rock and roll era, any artist attempting to appeal to the pre-teen and teen audience had to compete with the teen idols' image and offers, in the rock age, older and accomplished artists, especially masters of other evolved traditions such as jazz or Hindustani classical music, had other identificational roles available to them. They did have to respond to and avail of these new possibilities for success, however. Their mastery of their accomplished musical idiom might have been evident in their music and from their credentials, but their spiritual privilege was not always assumed. It might have been a given with North Indian classical artists, who were seen as coming from a tradition where there was little distinction between musicality and spirituality. With jazz musicians, though, spirituality was a quest and a quality mbibed from deeper ethnic roots, typically African or Indian. Thus artists who assumed some

ethnic identity, with which they may or may not have had racial or cultural connections, had a much stronger clout with countercultural audiences than did those who remained in the role of the traditional Western jazz musician in a suit and black tie. In actuality, the influence of counterculture was so pervasive that there remained few jazz musicians who continued in the latter vein.

While perhaps no jazz musicians identified themselves as hippies, or even counterculturists, the jazz avant-garde presented identities quite in tune with and easily consumable by the countercultural audiences. In addition to sonics, major overlaps were on evidence in the realms of spirituality and dress, with many imbrications even between those areas. In the years immediately preceding the advent of the counterculture, John Coltrane had been one of the most prominent and influential jazz musicians to carry on a sustained exploration of eclectic sounds and spiritualities, especially African and Indian.[46] Coltrane, however, maintained the outward look of the post-bop uptown serious jazzer. Among African America jazz musicians, his close collaborators Pharoah Sanders and last wife Alice Coltrane were perhaps two of the musicians other than Coltrane's early employer Miles Davis to develop musics and identities that most overlapped with and seduced the Love Generation.

Sanders was among many African American musicians who in the late 1960s turned to traditional African attire. There were initially no overt incentives to woo rock crowds behind such a move. Nor had there been any such incentives in jazz musicians' turning to eclectic philosophies, spiritualities, and sounds in the years preceding the counterculture's coming out; they were in fact the first ones to integrate such eclecticism within American music. Long, flowing colorful and textured robes, unconventional

[46] Afrocentric jazz, however, had been around since the second half of the 1950s.

within the white West, were, however, entering the field from many directions in the incipient counterculture—from Native Americans, from various African cultures, and from South Asia. Soon, such robes and matching groovy identities were requisite for an artist to address the counterculture, and African American musicians did well to have already achieved a degree of comfort in such identities. This, still, did not make them immune from suspicions of attempting too hard to court the counterculture and indulging in "hippyish mumbo-jumbo." Comparison of Pharoah Sanders', Alice Coltrane', or Leon Thomas's before and after pictures from the period reveal the extent of change in their outward image, which largely did also reflect their transformed identities as is evident from their careers past the counterculture's heyday.

Until now, I have mostly only discussed black jazz musicians and the types of projected identities that allowed them to cross over to the counterculture to various extents. Jazz in the popular mainstream, however, had commercially been dominated by white musicians since the days of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, and until the days of Glen Miller and later Frank Sinatra, it was white musicians who could offer the majority white youth audiences identities with which they could identify. With the coming of rock and roll and the emergence of a larger youth market, Sinatra and his cohort soon became the old guard offering lounge music for the adult contemporary market. No doubt this remained a significant market with which Chet Baker, Dave Brubeck, Stan Getz, and Astrud Gilberto had major success through the rock and roll era (1954-1965). Still, after a young Sinatra launched the phenomenon of teens fainting at concerts in the 1940s, none of the jazz-based populists saw major success with the subsequent generations of youth audiences. By the mid-1960s, many white youth of the same age group as the soon-to-emerge counterculture were seriously pursuing a jazz education. By the end of the

countercultural era, jazz training would become increasingly commoner for all young musicians hoping for an extended career in commercial music, although that has not meant that a certain level of contempt for the less sophisticated rock does not continue among jazz-trained musicians.

On the London rhythm and blues scene, as early as the mid-to-late 1950s, distinctions between jazz, blues, and rock and roll were much more fluidly transgressed. Alexis Korner, Ginger Baker, Jack Bruce, Graham Bond, Georgie Fame, Dick Heckstall-Smith, and John McLaughlin were just some of a cohort of relatively young musicians desperate to play the "authentic" musics of the American South, all viewed as antitheses to the lightweight British music hall. Unlike many US white jazz musicians of that generation, these Britishers, other than McLaughlin, despite their jazz credentials chose to completely embrace rock identities, without worrying about seeming less sophisticated to jazz's much smaller coterie. The dedicated jazz player, however, was more cautious regarding incorporating rock influences, for fear of losing the devoted jazz audiences.

In the US, a new generation of white musicians was emerging who had received some formal training in jazz and classical music; Berklee School of Music, Boston, for example, started turning out major contributors to jazz during this period. Despite the self-imposed exclusionary elitism of jazz musicians, they did belong to the Love Generation and identified with it on some levels. Larry Coryell, one of the first of the major jazz-trained crossover stylists on rock's premier instrument, the guitar, in many ways embodied the counterculturist identity within young white jazzers of the 1960s. Only twenty-two when he arrived in New York in 1965 from the University of Washington, Coryell became part of a number of groundbreaking jazz-rock assemblages. He brought the spirit of the rock generation into his groups, music, recordings, identity,

and lifestyle; eventually the excesses characteristic of the rock side of his music and identity took their toll on his career. Growing his hair long, indulging in alcohol each time his career faltered, getting carried away by rock musical excess, Coryell failed to capitalize on an idiom he helped inaugurate. His closest rival John McLaughlin, who at one time perhaps even emulated Coryell, ran away with critical and commercial acclaim, in part due to his assumption of a different countercultural identity, a calmer, spiritually-centered one. Neither, however, displayed a straight traditional jazz identity throughout their youth as they often have over the last two decades. In line with the spirit of their generation, both were interested in other possibilities, assembling their music and identities from alternative sources. Both were also interested in other spaces. Among other music, this is evident on Coryell's best received album from 1969, *Spaces*, on which McLaughlin guested on "Spaces (Infinite)."

Fig 2.3: Raising a long-haired family back on the land. Similar-themed album covers of Larry Coryell's *Coryell* (1969) and of erstwhile clean-cut rock and roller Johnny Rivers' *Homegrown* (1971). No one was immune to the charms of countercultural thinking.

McLaughlin's own music repeatedly evinced spatial fixations. His very first album as a leader, *My Goals Beyond* (1970), even in its title, reflected his search for

spaces, ideas, ideals, and identities from beyond places that could be expected of a young jazz guitarist or British rhythm and blues musician of an earlier period. On this largely acoustic but ambiently spacious studio recording, two of his abiding interests, North Indian classical and flamenco musics, informed many his own compositions and playing. Each would define an extended later period in his career. With the Indian trio Shakti, McLaughlin released three albums, and has repeatedly returned to reprising that partnership. At the turn of the decade, he moved to nouveau flamenco music in a guitar trio format with Spanish wunderkind Paco de Lucia and either Al De Miola or Larry Coryell. In 1981, McLaughlin would extend that genre to include the music of Brazil on *Belo Horizonte*, in a mix that was one of many preludes to world music concocted by counterculture era musicians; at heart lay a search for identities and spaces other than the inherited ones. McLaughlin has never been accused of being a purist in any style. Like his eclectic in-between identity, the interloper was a true founder of fusion—of rock and jazz, of East and West, of influences culled from independent worlds of culture, music, and spirituality. Yet, in such borrowings, he was not alone, but rather a representative of processes that the counterculture unleashed.

McLaughlin, most famously, but alongside Latin-rock's leading light Carlos Santana and session drummer supreme Michael Walden, integrated Indian spirituality into his inner and outer identity, adopting the name Mahavishnu given by his Indian guru Sri Chinmoy and elements of Indian dress. Santana and Walden, also shared the same guru and similarly adopted the prefixes Devadip and Narada respectively. Their additional sources of identity were similarly eclectic, with Santana inventing himself as a member and leader of a pan-Latin musico-spiritual brotherhood, a collective identity that

had many overtones of contemporary fraternities of musicians from various parts of the world.

Fig 2.4: A transcontinental fraternity. Early and smaller incarnation of jazz-rock fraternity the Mahavishnu Orchestra. From left: ex-prog rock violinist Jerry Goodman, in hippie "threads," Dutch keyboardist Jan Hammer as urbane European sophisticate, Irish-born guitarist John McLaughlin in white (a color representing peace) Indian kurta, American drummer Billy Cobham in flowing African robes, and Irish-born bassist Rick Laird in an outfit echoing leader McLaughlin's.

Fig 2.5: Another global fraternity. Nine members of Santana, an ensemble ostensibly playing Latin-rock. Front, back, and inside sleeves of *Inner Secrets* (Columbia, 1978)

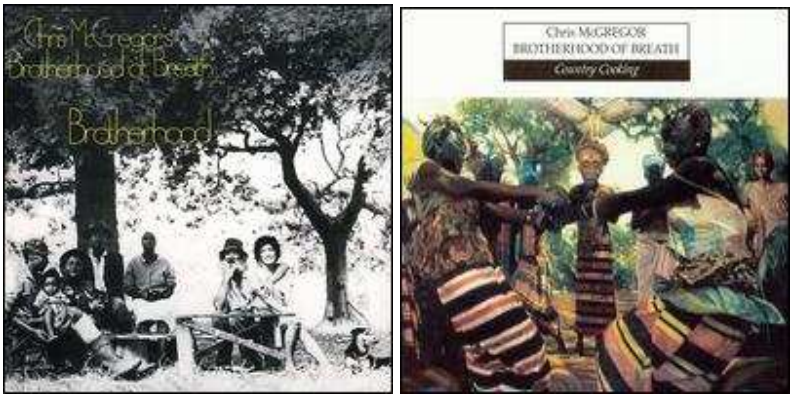

Fig 2.6: Another trans-ethnic fraternity. Brotherhood of Breath, Chris McGregor's London-based big band comprising South African expatriates, wear the agenda of communal inhabitation of different pastoral spaces on their (record) sleeve(s). *Brotherhood* (RCA, 1972) and *Country Cooking* (Venture, 1974)

The points to note in all these examples are that (1) these jazz or jazz-inspired musicians in contradistinction to inherited group identities of their black or white forebears embraced newer eclectic and expansive identities, with elements drawn from across genre, race, and ethnic lines, (2) their new hybrid identities were typically communal and emphasized universal "brotherhood,"[47] and (3) that through musical and other modes they attempted to celebrate a constant search for alternative spaces. In all these aspects they shared the counterculture's ideologies, whether or not they did self-identify as counterculturalists.

[47] Within jazz and rock fraternities, as within countercultural communities and communes, the roles available to women were limited. Of course, female jazz and rock musicians were few and far between at the time. Within countercultural jazz Carla Bley and Alice Coltrane might have been two rare women leaders who gathered such fraternity-like assemblages of male musicians for some projects, but the bonding characterizing and projected by all-male groups, as clearly in evidence on the *Inner Secrets* sleeve pictured above, were not typical of larger groups that featured any women. The roles of women such as Signe Anderson and Grace Slick (Jefferson Airplane) and Donna Godcheaux (Grateful Dead) within fraternal communal lifestyles of psychedelic rock bands has also not drawn much comment. The only well known women's community that can be viewed as a counterpart of such fraternities was in fact the even more strictly exclusionary Olivia Records team of lesbian-feminists, documented in the recent documentary *Radical Harmonies* (Wolfe Video, 2002). At least initially, the women's music movement and community was all white, although since the 1980s black feminist musicians have often aligned with an expanded, and more diffuse, movement. In any case, gender issues were not yet foregrounded in the way they have since become, and it was not deemed politically incorrect to use the gendered term "brotherhood."

Chapter 3: "Acoustemology"[1] of Space and Place in Recorded Music

Space is central to music—in not only its physical existence and mediation, but its purpose. The spaces where music is physically performed, recorded, and received are but small aspects of the totality of music's relationship to space. The heavy analytical emphasis placed in cultural studies of music on a narrow delimited context, i.e. the here and now, is misguided as a majority of music itself, through history, has been focused on conjuring the there and/or then—the spaces and lives humans desire which are thus more reflective of who they are intellectually and spiritually than are spaces and lives they merely happen to inhabit.[2] In the late modern period, technological capacities only multiplied exponentially to aid music's historical project of invoking other spaces.

Of course, music and music making do occupy physical space and socio-cultural space, and certainly there is much musical activity that functions toward the making of communal identities and spaces in the here and now. But ethnomusicology, folkloristics, and cultural studies have been overly distracted by their own exclusive placing of all revolutionary potential in such live music making and of music's worth in its revolutionary potential.[3] The fixation with live, rather than recorded, music making and with independent ("indie"), rather than corporate, marketing is thus understandable.

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[1] The coinage "acoustemology" is borrowed from Steven Feld who used it in relation to the acoustic-dominant sensual world of the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea's rainforest region (Feld 1996). In their navigations through the forest and life, the Kaluli rely more on spatial hearing than vision, because of the severely limited visual field. In our listening to recorded music, we all let our ears lead us into and through the suggested spaces.

[2] The conceptions of what defines us do differ among cultures. It could not be more strikingly contrasting as it is between the two cultures with which I have been in close proximity. In contemporary mainstream America, I have found most people define themselves by what they do. By contrast, in the more hierarchical postcolonial Indian milieu, in an elitist cosmopolitan urban culture, the idea of what defines one was best captured in the line "I am *marking my time* (emphasis mine) as:___" in the standard questionnaire in feminist magazine *Femina's* monthly feature in the 1990s, *Bachelor of the Month*.

[3] Alan Moore labels his position, which I share here, as "an 'aesthetic' position," to distinguish his field of interest from a socio-political one as articulated by Simon frith: "Is it [the music] repressive or liberating? Escapist or instructive?" (Moore 1993: 6)

Counterculture is of interest to this group of socio-cultural critics only as long as they can detect and publicly commiserate with similar concerns, for instance concerns that very obviously typified countercultural music's 1960s protest phase. The escapist utopianism and navel-gazing solipsism of later-period counterculture in the 1970s, contrariwise, is deemed indefensible and dismissed as a post-scarcity fantasy of a few privileged whites out of touch with how the other half, or actually the majority, lived. In fact, unable to reconcile with the ensuing guilt, amplified by their own whopping commercial success, some of the most successful and influential songwriter-singers with those escapist and solipsistic tendencies marking their 1970s work, most prominently Jackson Browne and Kris Kristofferson, returned apologetically to activism on behalf of the underdog and have been at it for over a quarter century.

From the inception of cultural studies in the 1950s and 1960s, theorists have emphasized the political dimension of the personal and the cultural, their central claim being that it is in ordinary day-to-day cultural performance that "agency" is reclaimed by social "actors" even if they continue to operate within socio-politico-economic structures imposed by the dominant group. The problem with this manner of looking at music and everyday performances of humans is not that it is inaccurate, but rather that its seductiveness has distracted social and cultural scholars from other aspects of the varied projects of music, as of art and literature. What has resulted is a cornucopia of case studies from different quarters, all leading back to the same already theorized conclusions regarding the politics of culture.

Yet, humans are not only driven by power differentials. Humans in all societies at all levels of power have time and again sought a "time out" from the power struggles that can dominate mundane life in spaces of reality. Children of poor homes across the world

are consoled by the dreams of better spaces offered in lullabies just as are those in suburban homes and mansions. Certainly active struggle for power becomes less of a concern when one belongs either to a socio-economic group that can hope for none or to one that takes it for granted. The middle- and upper-middle-class youth who constituted the majority of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture belonged to the latter and thus were able to dismiss the economically driven "American Dream" of their parents' generation. In the counterculture, which took a degree of economic security for granted, a different "American Dream" took hold—a dream of transcending and sidestepping power struggles and even the kind of modern urban society in which such struggles were thought to operate. This dream was not new in North America, nor in world history—it repeatedly rears its head seductively in tales from Siddhartha's to Thoreau's. For the counterculture, Gordon Lightfoot summarizes the outlook in his song "Sit Down, Young Stranger," in the lines, "the answer's in the forest, carved upon a tree" and "knowledge is not needed…power does not rule," the transcendent wisdom of which the song's protagonist's parents are unable to grasp (Lightfoot 1970).[4]

Historically, in the musical arena, words likely had been the most important mediators of spatial messages. That does not imply that there were no musical and sonic signifiers of space in the years before musical recording. A cross-cultural and trans-historical study of lullabies, for example, would likely reveal commonalities in musical elements and performance practices that encouraged a dissolution of the immediate and a drifting into fantastic spaces. Slow tempos, low volume, soft dynamics, whispered sibilants, lilting rhythms, preferences for triple rhythms are just some of the commonalities running through lullabies and their performance in the Western world.

[4]Gordon Lightfoot, "Sit Down, Young Stranger," from *Sit Down, Young Stranger* (Reprise, 1970).

Lullabies constitute one of the oldest continuous musical traditions. To space-invoking elements in such ancient traditions, sequentially others were added in emergent musical practices. Tracing the history of Western art music is educative in this regard. A comprehensive overview of such historical developments itself would constitute a topic worthy of a monograph, and these practices themselves could be broken down taxonomically in the manner I propose below for countercultural recorded music. Some examples include the tapping of reverb in Gregorian chant in the medieval era, the use of pedal tones in the eighteenth genres of pastorale and musette, the addition of the sustain pedal to the piano to emulate the hammered dulcimer in the 1700s, the historically concretized associations of certain instrumental timbres with pastoral spaces (especially some woodwinds such as whisles, flutes, panpipes, oboe, English Horn, clarinet, and soprano saxophone).[5]

In addition to these slowly accreting associations and methodologies, by the countercultural era, a whole smorgasbord of newer ones had become available, thanks to nine decades (1870s to 1960s) of advances in recording and media technology. Also, over that period, the advances in recording had been exponential. Especially from a perspective of capturing and reproducing spatial elements, the two decades preceding the Summer of Love saw more advances than the preceding seven decades had. Yet many of these advances lay largely underexploited until the emergence of a generation obsessed with space, especially "out there" space.[6] The sensitivity of sound recording and reproduction equipment in capturing a bristling spatiality increased even more

[5] For pastorale and musette, see Lerner (2001); for the development of pedals on pianos, see Leydon (2001); for signature sounds associated with pastoral spaces, see Murray Schaefer (1977).

[6] Space has become a significant conceptual realm in academia, in fields ranging from cultural geography to architecture to social theory, only over the last three decades. During this postmodern era, however, there is a clear shift in artistic and intellectual focus to urban spaces away from the "out there" fantastic spaces that

dramatically in the first half decade since the Summer of Love, the coming out point not only for the communal counterculture but also Album Oriented Rock (AOR) fixated on "rock as art."

A barometer of this technological advance and its exploitation is the career trajectories of certain musical architects of pastoral spaces who were just initiating their pastoral spatial projects around 1967 and whose visions came to full realization during that five-year phase—some of these including Rick Nelson, Jackson Browne, Craig Fuller, J.D. Souther, Stephen Stills, Jim Messina, Tony Rice, and members of the Eagles. Following the careers of certain songs might be even more educative, as songs conceived with a pastoral vision became fleshed out in spatial sonic gestures to come to full fruition over the course of a number of commissions to disc. In other cases the agenda of a piece may not have seemed spatial or pastoral, based on the lyrical and sonic evidence auditable from the initial commission to record, but it may have evolved into a pastoral spatial epic with the evolution in recording technology and with a particular artist's coming up in the world to be able to access cutting edge technology. Recordings of Craig Fuller's "Angel" with J.D. Blackfoot in 1969 and with his own project, Pure Prairie League, in 1972, provides one such example and is analyzed later in this chapter. Other songs whose recording history evidences similar spatial evolution include J.D. Souther's "Kite Woman" recorded in 1969 (with the duo Longbranch Pennywhistle on their eponymous album) and 1972 (solo, on *John David Souther*), Stephen Stills' "So Begins the Task" recorded in 1968 (studio demo, later released on *Just Roll Tape*) and 1972 (with Manassas on the group's eponymous debut). In other cases, it might have taken an interpreter to read and evince the spatial potential of a song and often in such cases their

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fascinated the counterculture, which among others included Western pastoral spaces, African and Indian spaces, extraterrestrial space, and psychedelic spaces.

interpretation became the more influential one—some examples include Tom Rush's expansive recording of Joni Mitchell's "Urge for Going," later covered by Tony Rice in the same sonic style; Rush's readings of Jackson Browne's "Colors of the Sun" and "These Days" that inspired Browne's own spacious recordings of the two songs when his solo career took off later; and Matthews' Southern Comfort's interpretations of Joni Mitchell's "Woodstock," James Taylor's "Something in the Way She Moves," Steve Young's "Seven Bridges Road," and Tom Waits' "Ol' 55," the latter two recordings influencing similarly expansive almost verbatim sonic reproductions by the Eagles, which proved influential on a slew of later recording artists.

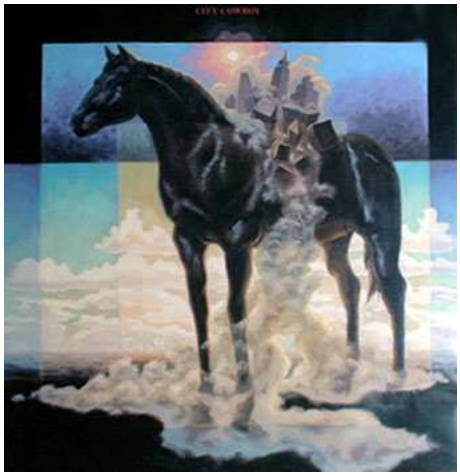
A wide array of methodologies for invoking other spaces was becoming available to a generation seeking to expand its own possibilities beyond the immediate and increasingly homogenous spaces of urban life; many of these had been unavailable to any of the previous generation of pastoralists or other spatial explorers. In fact, the counterculture's impact yielded the largest cohort of pastoralists in modern American or Western history. The previous half century in the US had largely reveled in the urban possibilities of high modernity; among other things this is revealed even in the prefixes chosen for the economic boom decades following each World War—the Roaring Twenties and the Flying Forties. Pastoralists in North America and Europe in the decades and centuries before the countercultural era had been much smaller cohorts. Within fine arts, this is evidenced in the cliquishness of the New England Transcendentalists or the Hudson River Valley School of painters or the Cow Paddy school of English composers. At other times they worked in isolation, as did Charles Ives. In the subsequent decades, even though no pastoralist schools are defined, the pastoral desire did not vanish and

composers such as William Grant Still, Roy Harris, Aaron Copland, and Virgil Thompson tapped into it.[7]

In the 1960s, however, prominent political events widely splashed around pervasive and increasingly visual and affecting media, including television, led to a much more widespread rejection of urban society and exploration of alternatives on an unprecedented scale. And, once its hopes of sweeping social change within urban society had been quashed, the young generation also recognized that alternative realities could only inhabit alternative spaces, real or fantastic. Cities would only appear as decaying and crumbling, physically and morally, in countercultural artistic expression. Instances of mistrust of civilization, urbanization, and the ambition driving those processes extend from lyrics, as in John Martyn's "Don't Wanna Hear 'bout Evil," John Denver and the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band's "And So it Goes," and the Eagles' "The Last Resort," to album cover art with the motif of dying cities appearing in album cover art on America's *Homecoming* and Arthur Gee-Whizz Band's *City Cowboy*. As I have discussed in the previous chapter and will elaborate on in the taxonomy in Table 3.1, album cover art was just one ancillary medium for countercultural musicians to project their identities and pastoralist agendas. A successful band such as America, albeit one that reflected and capitalized on market trends rather than inaugurate any, provides a better window into cultural and commercial phenomena.

[7] For Still and Harris, see von Glahn (2002); for Copland and Thompson, see Lerner (2001).

(a)



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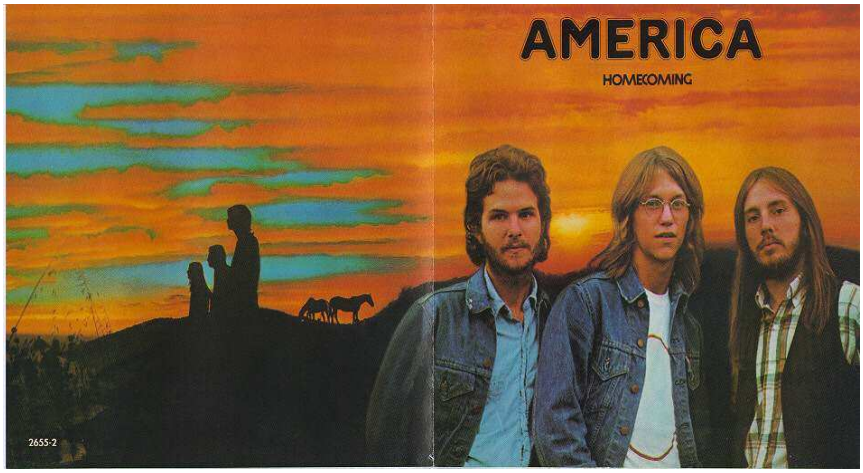

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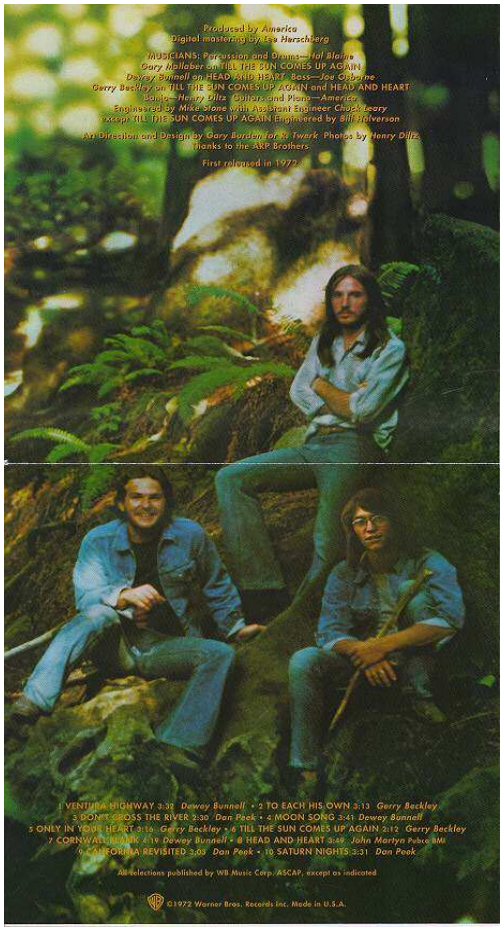
Produced by America
Digital mastering by Lee Herschberg
MUSICIANS: Percussion and Drums—Hal Blaine
Gary Mallaber on TILL THE SUN COMES UP AGAIN
Dewey Bunnell on HEAD AND HEART, Bass—Joe Osborne
Gerry Beckley on TILL THE SUN COMES UP AGAIN and HEAD AND HEART
Banjo—Henry Diltz, Guitars and Piano—America
Engineered by Mike Stone with Assistant Engineer Chuck Ezzary
Except TILL THE SUN COMES UP AGAIN Engineered by Bill Halverson
Art Direction and Design by Gary Burden for 2 Twerk Photos by Henry Diltz
Thanks to the A&M Brothers
First released in 1972
1 VENTURA HIGHWAY 3:38 Dewey Bunnell • 2 TO EACH HIS OWN 3:13 Gerry Beckley
3 DON'T CROSS THE RIVER 2:20 Dan Peek • 4 MOON SONG 3:41 Dewey Bunnell
5 ONLY IN YOUR HEART 3:16 Gerry Beckley • 6 TILL THE SUN COMES UP AGAIN 2:12 Gerry Beckley
7 CORNWALL BLUE 4:19 Dewey Bunnell • 8 HEAD AND HEART 3:49 John Marlyn Pubco BMI
9 CALIFORNIA REVISITED 3:03 Dan Peek • 10 SATURN NIGHTS 3:31 Dan Peek
All selections published by WB Music Corp. ASCAP, except as indicated
©1972 Warner Bros. Records inc. Made in U.S.A.

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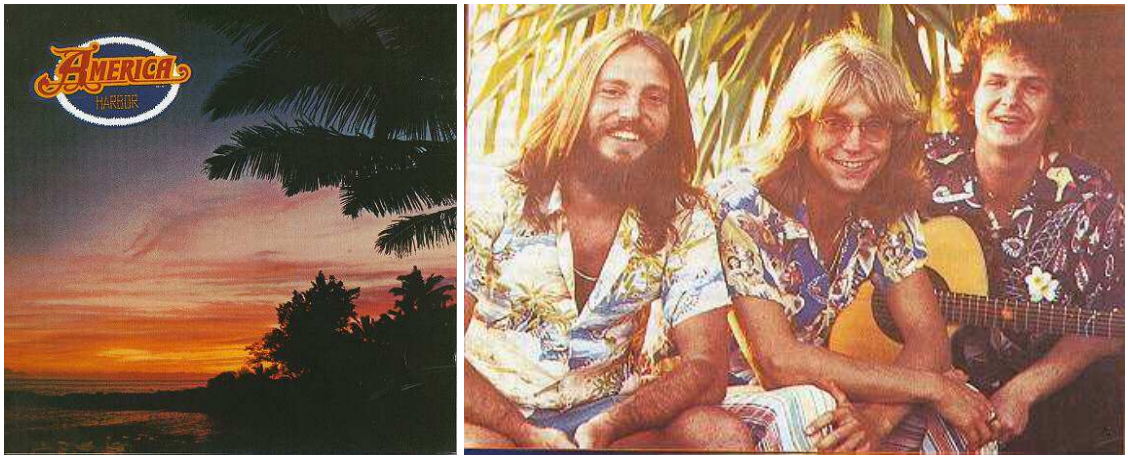
AMERICA
HARBOR

Fig 3.1: (a) “Cities crumbling and the horse they rode out on”: Cover art of (a) *City Cowboy* (Tumbleweed, 1972) by Arthur Gee-Whiz Band. (b) Two-thirds of the fold-out outer cover of America’s *Homecoming* (Warner, 1973): From their pastoral mountain “home” outside the city limits, the escapees look down on the smog-covered rubble they left behind (pictured on the third part of the fold-out). (c) “At home in the new home”: Nature boys among Nature, inside cover of *Homecoming*; (d) “Run to the hills”: Cover of America’s *Hideaway* (Warner, 1976). For L.A. country rock artists such as America, the hills in the Laurel and Topanga Canyon regions supplied the initial sanctuary c.1966-1971 (*Homecoming*’s cover depicts that initial step of the flight from the decrepit city) after which the commercial success of the genre allowed many to escape, in between contractual obligations, to the mountainous West of Colorado (captured by the cover art of *Hideaway*), (e) “Blue Grass”: Cover of America’s *Harbor* (Warner, 1977). The eventual escape to an oceanic pastoral in country rock—Chris Hillman, CSN, Dave Mason, Fool’s Gold, Loggins and Messina, Firefall, and Jimmy Buffett et al. all wrote odes to dolphins, whales, and tropical repose, but a band such as America, one that reflected and capitalized on market trends rather than inaugurate any, provides a better window into cultural and commercial phenomena.[8]

The youth recognized that the organizational infrastructures of the spaces of modern civilization were too ossified to be pliable to change and too deeply rooted to be extirpated. With the unmatched centrality of music to the lives of that generation, ensuing from the broad success of rock and roll and folk revival music with urban youth in the preceding decade, music became the most significant arena for spatial explorations. Film, visual art, literature, and sartorial fashion were also important canvases on which broadly culled raw material was woven into new tapestries of possibilities, but none was more vital than music. Part of the appeal of music in this regard might have lain in its inherent fluid suggestiveness not bound down to a rigid specificity as things visual and linguistic usually are by the human brain. The sky indeed was the limit to the ways in which the

[8] For the geo-cultural backdrop of country rock see Walker (2007) and Hoskyns (2005). For a parallel expansion of the literary pastoral beyond the traditional green grazing pasture with cows and sheep to the blue playing ground of dolphins and whales, see Gifford (1999: 3).

great wide open could now be evoked, invoked, and even made to materialize before and around one's ears and entire sensorium.[9]

The countercultural era, in my assessment, provides the best possible vantage point to study almost all the spatializing moves that have been utilized in the history of Western music and recording. It was an era of cerebral and historically informed music making that continued to tap foregoing methodologies and develop new ones in response to newer technologies. Most significantly, countercultural era music and recording also adumbrated most additional developments in spatial music that have happened since. This is even more remarkable in the light of the exponential curve of technical advancements in computer technology in the last three decades.

To my knowledge, no one has attempted a sustained investigation and classification of the broad array of ways in which music has attempted to invoke and materialize space, *per se*. Surely, a number of scholars, including Zak, Moore, and Doyle, have recently undertaken detailed explorations of various aspects of recorded sound itself, which Moore has called "the primary text" to distinguish it from its visual proxy on the page. All of these texts have necessarily had to turn their attention to the role of the studio and technology in the languages of recorded music, which extend beyond those employed in either the visual-centered Western art music traditions of live music-making. A number of other scholars, including Theberge, Taylor, Greene, Berger, Fales, and many others have been interested in the role of technology and sonic aspects in the working of recorded and amplified or electronic music. This dissertation is influenced by

[9]The reference to sky being the limit, of course, is to Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers' 1991 hit, "Into the Great Wide Open." The allusion to the whole sensorium and not merely the ears or the hearing apparatus is to include those aspects of music, sound, and vibrations that are sensed in ways other than what falls under the commonsense view of ear-based hearing. "Profoundly deaf" Scottish percussionist Evelyn Glennie, for instance, was able to become the first full-time solo professional percussionist in the world despite profoundly limited use of what is conventionally deemed the human hearing apparatus.

many of these works, but it focuses the lenses borrowed to one specific—and in the case of the selected works, central—aspect of the music, namely space.

The bigger majority of music scholars, still, continues to gravitate toward analyzing other aspects of music and music making, an attraction explained both by their own as well as their subjects' contexts. I, by contrast, have been far removed in time and space from the music that spoke to me.[10] For success with an audience divorced from the immediate context, music has to speak an even more eloquent language of space. Maybe only music that succeeded on that count was able to speak to me. Thus the common denominator for music of my mind became the eloquence of its spatial language.[11]

Yet, this message was not accidental and not merely a figment of my imagination. The sources of this music were themselves temporally and spatially connected. It came from countercultural era's shared sense of urban spaces as constricting and attempted to conjure wide open non-urban spaces. The repertoire of moves that historically had been used in invoking alternative spaces, i.e. spaces other than the space of musical performance and of immediate urban society, provided a wide traditional palette upon which countercultural musicians could draw. Added sequentially to this was a whole new repertoire of possibilities thrown up by evolving technology. And countercultural musicians did deploy all stratagems, historical and contemporary. This chapter will attempt to broach each one, even if some are investigated in greater detail. The main hope

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[10] Most conventional ethnomusicologists could claim the same remove. The crucial difference is that their disciplinary training and orientation makes them almost exclusively concerned with the "emic" workings of the music. By contrast, I regard myself as a part of countercultural music's secondary foreign audience. While the commercial focus of American music of the era might have been the American audience, the wider and continuing success of at least some of the music depended on its use of codes that were cross-culturally decodable. Some early examples of "world music," such as the Afro-rock band Osibisa's "Welcome Home" or Italian prog-rock group Albatross's "Africa," are clear cases in point and are discussed below.

[11] The issue of whether communication of space in aural recordings is indeed like the modes of communication commonly included under the category "language" is addressed later in the chapter.

of this work is to propose an overarching model for investigating and analyzing the staggering array of levels at which space is articulated in music, leaving it up to other scholars to use the model for analyses of other particular examples, perhaps in a more in-depth fashion.

It will serve us well to have a thematic breakdown to which we can refer back. Table 5.1 attempts a taxonomy of manners in which music alludes to (with a focus on allusions to pastoral space in countercultural music) or materially contains varying traces of space, all of which we will later consider in some detail.

Table 5.1

I. ***Spatial Allusions, Non-sonic***:

- Programs: e.g. Fairport Convention's *John Babbacombe Lee*, Kenny Rogers and the New Edition's *Ballad of Calico Silver*
- Lyrics and titles (songs/instrumentals/albums)
- Album covers
    - Cover Art
        - Photography:
            - Subject matter: e.g. Pastoral scenes
            - Presentation: e.g. Panoramic fold-outs
            - Codes:
                - Lighting and focus differentials, that have cross-sensory relationships with acoustic referents of space
        - Painting:
            - Subject matter: e.g. Extraterrestrial scenes (McKendree Spring, Yes)
            - Codes: Allusions to specific schools of painting e.g. Impressionistic
    - Liner notes (abridged surrogates of Western art music's programs)
- Advertising campaigns: e.g. for the Eagles' *Desperado*
- Other propaganda: e.g. Western desperado image touted by producers and rock scribes for *Wanted: The Outlaws*
- Publication of interviews with artists explicating their projects

- Associated cinematic use:
    - In Cinema:
        - Hippie Westerns: e.g. *Easy Rider, The Hired Hand*
        - Westerns: e.g. *The Long Riders, Paris Texas*
        - Road Movies: e.g. *Easy Rider*
        - Contemporary Arcadian visions/dropout fantasies: *River Runs Through It, The Horse Whisperer, Into the Wild*
    - In musical presentation:
        - Stage shows: e.g. Pink Floyd's *Dark Side of the Moon*, Loggins and Messina's *Sittin' in Again*
        - Music videos—MTV prototypes, Windham Hill

II. ***Spatial Allusions, sonic***:

A. ***Musical*** (according to traditional definitions of music)

- *Melodic/Harmonic aspects*:
    - Minor/major tonalities:
        - Relationship of usage to types of spaces conjured in different eras/genres: Romanticism, Impressionism, 20th century nationalism, traditional popular song: "Home Sweet Home" vs. "Wayfaring Stranger" and "Ghost Riders in the Sky"
        - Shifts in treatment of major and minor sections/chords in pastoral pieces/songs (properly belongs under acoustic maneuvers):
            - Primarily musical shifts:
                - Textural changes:
                    - Density
                    - Treatment of voices
            - Technological:
                - Reverb
                - Sound source placement and movement
                - Instrumentation
            - Technical (rakes, chimes etc.)

- *Harmonic aspects:*

    - Varying placement of *supporting vocals* in terms of:
        - *Pitch* (close, open, barbershop, gospel, Beach Boys, Beatles, CSN/Eagles)

- *Other aspects of treatment of supporting voices:*
    - *Timing*: e.g. *polyphonic* approach suggesting languorous motion through spaces: Emmylou Harris, Rick Nelson "Anytime," Kate Wolf "Telluride"
    - *Acoustic treatment*:
        - *depth*:
            - *amplitude relationships* b/w voices
            - *reverb differential* b/w lead and secondary voices
        - *breadth*: placement in
            - stereophonic
            - quadraphonic
            - surround sound
- *Time aspects*:
    - *Signature:* For example: ¾ preferred in lullabies and old-time music—often pastoral; thus greater continuation of spacious codes in contemporary children's music than in rock (but even 5/4 is more lilting and lazy e.g. Jethro Tull's "Living in the Past")
    - *Tempo/rhythms*: How do they suggest movement through spaces—speed, lilt— through spaces
        - Road Rhythms:
            - Cruisin'—"Early Morning Riser," "Take it Easy"
            - Fugitive-on-the-run— "On the Road Again" and "Dead or Alive"
        - African safari rhythms—"Africa," "Welcome Home," "Astral Traveling," "Guinevere," "Tamalpais High," Santana
        - Pastoral languor (positive)—volume swells after the beat: "Although I've Gone Away" vs. Rural torpor (negative)—"Telluride" (both by Kate Wolf)

B. ***Acoustic*** *(categories not typically deemed musical ones)*:

- *Timbre*
    - *Gestalt vs. Components*
        - *Gestalt*: Instrumental tonalities suggesting specific geographical spaces, times of day, moods etc.
        - *Work of spectral microcomponents*

    - *Soundscapes* and their characteristics. Music can evoke these through:

        - *Historical association* of specific timbres with specific soundscapes, which becomes a code appreciated by the competent (exposed) listener
            - *Association with natural soundscapes* e.g. “signature sounds” like bells and hunting horn
                - can be evoked by their timbral musical simulacra
            - *Association with musical soundscapes* e.g. English Horn—Debussy to Loggins & Messina to Elliott Carter's “Pastoral”
        - *Acoustic (physical) similarities* with suggested soundscapes (through overlaps in timbral spectrum or reverberation particulars)
    - *Timbral manipulation*: Through technology and technique

- *Texture*: Not just pitch and time relationships that can be transcribed, but analysis of every physical way individual sound components relate to each other; includes:
    - echo/reverb’s relationship with the original in terms of volume/delay,
    - direct/reflected sounds’ relationships,
    - relationships of harmonics to fundamentals,
    - breadth relationship in stereo placement,
    - apparent placement in terms of depth

- *Aftersound:*
    - *Continued Intrumental Resonance:*
        - *Corporal*
        - *Resonance Chamber*
    - *Reverb*
    - *Echo*

- *Placement*:
    - *Depth*
    - *Breadth*: in mono, stereo, quadraphonic, surround

Music does not only allude to and invoke spaces outside of itself, but it also has material spatiality.

III. Material Spatial Constructions and Inscription:

- Reconstruction of the enveloping character of sound and soundscapes in music
  - Classical:
    - Live: Traditional side-to-side expanse of the symphonic orchestra
    - Recording:
      - Quadraphonic with the recording apparatus/listener placed in the center
      - Binaural recording
  - Popular/Rock:
    - Stereo
    - Quadraphonic
    - Surround Sound

SPATIAL ALLUSIONS, NON-SONIC

"Have you heard the news, Boys?": Programs, Titles, and other Verbal Narrative Vehicles[12]

Programmatic music is a part of Western art music history that is all too familiar to dwellers of conservatory and music academy corridors, so I will not belabor it here. The point of this review is that, like that earlier music, countercultural music also sometimes chose to include ancillary literature to explain the intent of and add a narrative to, or

[12] The title comes from a song on Paul Kennerley's, *The Legend of Jesse James* (1978), a veritable country rock opera on record. As an almost full-fledged, although not staged, opera that album had the whole plot narrated within the recording. Interestingly the two examples of albums with detailed programmatic inserts with which I am familiar and which are discussed in this section had similar themes of outlaws and the Old West, but as they did not have a detailed narrative element built into the recordings, Kenny Rogers and the First Edition's *Ballad of Calico Silver* and Fairport Convention's *John Babbacombe Lee* included thick booklets with programmatic notes. In the latter case these were actual newspaper clippings regarding the hanging of Babbacombe Lee.

enhance the narrative aspects of, musical works. The difference between introduction of programs in art music in the nineteenth century and popular music in the countercultural era lay in the direction in which the music was moving along the cultural ladder. Programmatic art music in that earlier period was seen as a populist move away from the conception of an innately physico-aesthetically perfect "absolute music" to a music that referred to things without, unashamedly pandering to the aesthetically untrained and critically unevolved rising rich bourgeois class. By contrast, in the countercultural era, the program, under various guises, laid claim to a greater complexity than the three-minute popular recorded song that had dominated the music industry for the preceding six decades.

Countercultural music appropriated this notion of structural *complexity* underlying the concept of a longer musical "work" largely from Western classical music. There are examples, however, where the inspiration also came from the diurnal raga cycles of North Indian Classical music, as on the Moody Blues' *Days of the Future Passed* (1967). And from Romantic symphonic music countercultural recorded music borrowed the notion of *narrativity* in such longer works. In the realm of art rock and progressive rock, this aspect has been more often acknowledged as those genres' linkages to Western classical music were self-professed and prominently worn on their sleeves—metaphorical as well as those covering their albums. While it was rare that a printed out program insert accompanied an album, artists and their promotional propaganda machinery as well as rock critics and connoisseurs regularly engaged in encoding and decoding the exact concepts underlying "concept albums." The Beatles' Summer of Love cornerstone *Sgt. Peppers' Lonely Hearts Club Band* famously launched the era of the concept album and "rock as art" and also a heightened concern with a real narrative concept underlying

album-length works. Much ink has been spent on reading a concept into *Sgt. Peppers'*, despite the confessions of the band members disowning any clearly thought out or structured narrative.[13]

By the following year, countercultural music was drawing from another Western classical narrative genre: opera. Rock opera differed from the concept album in that each singer played a specific character from the guiding storyline. From that era, the Who's *Tommy* and *Quadrophenia* and Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Jesus Christ Superstar* have withstood the test of time, not only as recorded albums, but also as traveling theatrical musical works that have been performed tens of thousands of times across the world. In incorporating dance with an underlying musical narrative, rock opera as a performance art also overlaps with the classical ballet. In the sense of a live show, rock opera also merges imperceptibly with musical theater, in which works are written for stage performance primarily but might end up in a recorded album version secondarily. Similarly, when adapted into movies or vice versa, i.e. a musical movie being committed to an audio record, rock opera is continuous with musicals. Yet, a true rock opera might be distinguished by its lack of dependence on the visual media to capture the intended spatialities and narrative. It can exist entirely in sound on a record with any narrative captured verbally within the sound. In an opera, the narrative rarely needed to appear in an ancillary program, so one would not expect a rock opera to have one either. But some rock works did borrow the idea of the program to add an additional narrative layer to help take the listener on a journey to other places, ties, and spaces.

Only a few works actually needed to employ a printed program *per se*, as countercultural popular music, other than avant-garde and pastoral jazz, was not strictly

[13] For a detailed consideration of the conception, recording, and reception of *Sgt. Pepper's*, see Moore 1997.

instrumental, as nineteenth century art music had been. Fairport Convention's 1971 album *"Babbacombe" Lee* (A&M), was one that did include something approaching a program as an insert in an inside pocket of the foldout sleeve. The insert, titled "From Lloyd's Weekly News, John Babbacombe Lee, the Man they could not Hang: John Lee of Babbacombe Tells His Own Story of a Life-Long Ordeal," was ostensibly culled from historical newspaper clippings. In addition to Lee's biographical account, which the album also related in song and sound, the insert featured sketches and photographs to added historical credibility to the story of the protagonist's capture, trial, and three attempted but failed execution attempts. Also in 1971, Michael Martin Murphey and orchestrator Larry Cansler wrote a double-album length saga of the late 1800s silver rush of Calico, California. Kenny Rogers and the First Edition recorded it for Warner Brothers as *The Ballad of Calico Sliver* (Warner, 1972), with an album jacket that echoed the packaging of programmatic art music as well as all contemporary rock that attempted to transport the listener to another era. Like *"Babbacombe" Lee*, it was a fold-out jacket with an insert looking dated with age, browned and maculated like a century-old photograph or manuscript. Pictured on it were the group members and the writers, all in period outfits. Also included were historical pictures of actual residents of the town and explicatory notes to add additional narrative detail and spatial color. Transporting the listener to the Western (or sometimes southern or Old World) spaces of another era, was a common theme in countercultural music. Although these are the only major examples of elaborate programs I have found in album packaging, the programmatic cues were more often visual with musicians dressed up in period outfits of cowboys (on countless albums), outlaws (as on the Eagles' *Desperado* and Paul Kennerley's *Legend of Jesse James*), and Civil War soldiers (as on Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young's *Déjà vu*). The

programmatic part was sometimes part of the aural narration interspersed between the music and the singing, as on the Legend of Jesse James and Nitty Gritty Dirt Band's *Uncle Charlie and his Dog Teddy*. Visual programmatic cues are further discussed below.

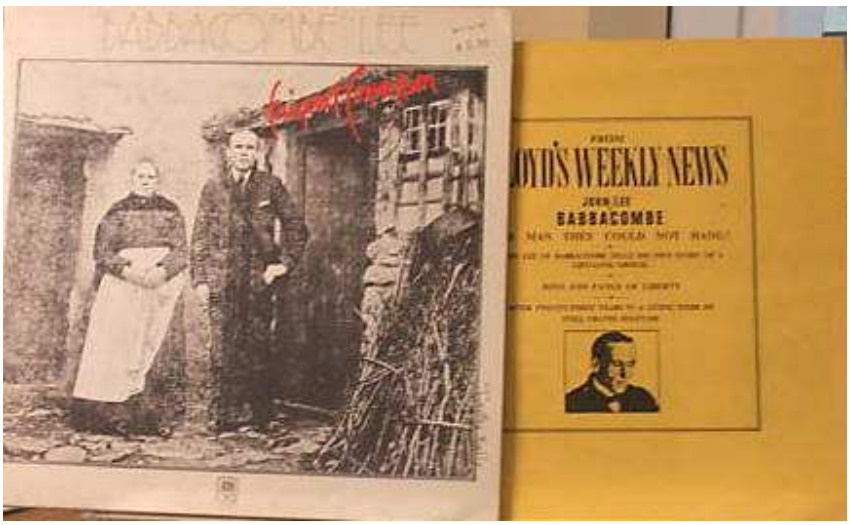

Fig 3.2: Front cover and front page of programmatic insert of Fairport Convention's album *"Babbacombe" Lee* (A&M, 1971).

A Picture is Worth…: The Spatial Work of Album Covers

By the countercultural era, landscape art and photography had for long subserved the function of transporting viewers to distant spaces. The use of such art on record jackets in promoting the escapist message of some genres of popular music also stretches from the advent of the recording industry. Soundtracks to 1940s' silver screen cowboy movies such as *Blue Canadian Rockies* and 1950s exotica movies such as *South Pacific* unabashedly pandered to escapist urges of a sedentary and urban America increasingly removed from any contact with the pastoral or with exotic adventure. But typically album covers from that period more closely resembled movie posters than realistic cinematic

scenery, as countercultural era album photography would come to resemble. Countercultural era albums attempted to transport the audience to some specific types of spaces: pastoral, Western, historical, or various composites of those. Examining some of the covers reveals typologies of methodologies utilized in cover visual art to assist the agenda of the music.

If there is one attribute that makes album covers of the late countercultural era, from roughly 1969 through 1977, stand out from those of any other period, it is the pastoral imagery. Most are characterized by the simplest of moves—picturing longhaired, hippie-looking musicians, typically in a laid-back repose, against a verdant or desert outdoors backdrop. Albums that used this simple motif include: The Flying Burrito Brothers' *The Gilded Palace of Sin* (A&M, 1969); Matthews' Southern Comfort's *Later That Same Year* (MCA, 1971); Tom Rush' *Wrong End of the Rainbow* (Columbia, 1971) and *Desperados Waiting for a Train* (back cover) (Columbia, 1974); James Taylor's *James Taylor* (Apple, 1968) and *One Man Dog* (Warner, 1972). In another common elaboration on that move, additional flavors were added to the pastoral and to the pictured protagonists to increase the remove of the suggested pastoral space from contemporary urban society. The musicians and/or protagonists were now cowboys, outlaws, pioneers out in a pastoral space that predated modern settled America. The degree of specification of the alluded to time period, space, and personae varied as each was informed both by history and fantasy/myth. Poco's *Pickin' Up the Pieces* (Epic, 1969), Loggins and Messina's *Native Sons* (Columbia, 1976), Crosby Stills, Nash & Young's *Déjà vu* offer some examples, as do the albums by Kenny Rogers, Nitty Gritty Dirt Band, and the Eagles mentioned in the previous section.

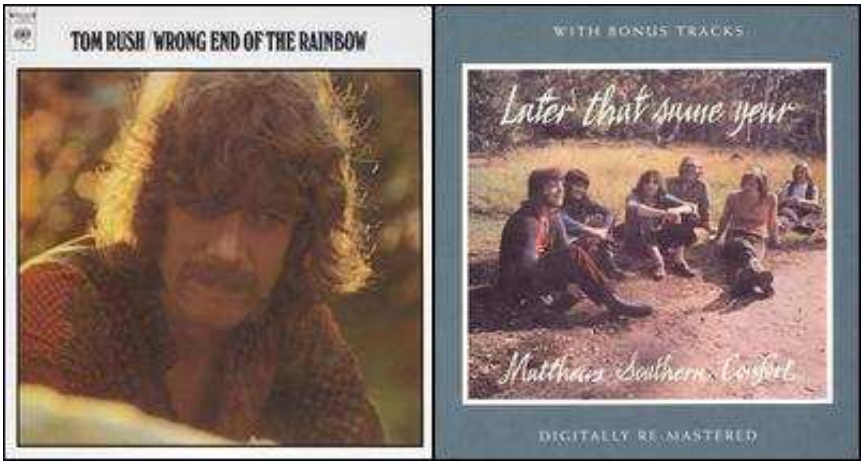

Fig 3.3: "Got to get ourselves, back to the garden": Front cover of Tom Rush's *Wrong End of the Rainbow* (Columbia, 1971) and Matthews' Southern Comfort's *Later That Same Year*. Beyond just the verdant outdoor backdrop, the pastoral photographic codes extend to the use of natural lighting at certain favored angles (typically haloing long hair) and focus differentials between figure, ground, and the middleground haloes. Ake (2007: 45) also notes the halo around a "tousled mane" as a photographic trope associated with pastoralism (see below).

Fig 3.4: "California Dreaming?": Cover of Tom Rush's *The Circle Game* (Elektra, 1968). Notice the continuity with the covers of early 1960s urban folk album covers from the Northeast such as that of *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (Columbia, 1963). Also note the contrast with the sunny pastoral covers from around the turn of the decade in Fig 5.3.

A very common variant of the artist-on-the-green motif was the lazy-Sunday-morning-just-outside-the-window pastoral. Tens of albums spread across genres used variations on this theme. These include country rock albums such as Rick Roberts' *She is a Song* (back cover) (A&M, 1973); singer-songwriter soft rock albums such as Carole King's mega-platinum *Tapestry* (Ode, 1971). David Ake has noted that the appearance of the motif on the back cover of Pat Metheny's 1979 album *New Chautaqua* signaled a new direction in jazz, which he called pastoral jazz (Ake 2007: 45-47). Jazz had embraced urban folk inspired soft rock and now appealed to a broader constituency of musicians and listeners. But while Ake, after Himes, focuses on ECM label as the progenitor of pastoral jazz, long-haired jazz and classical trained musicians elsewhere, especially Paul Winter's Consort and Oregon, were bringing together those musical elements with fixations of space and the pastoral, again displaying the results prominently on their (record) sleeves.

Fig 3.5: Pastoral cover art of “folk-jazz” group Oregon: *Distant Hills* (1973), *Winter Light* (1974), *Friends* (1977), and *Out of the Woods* (1978).

Fig 3.6: Pastoral cover art of “pastoral jazz” artist Pat Metheny’s albums: *Bright Size Life* (1975), front cover; *New Chautaqua* (1979), back cover.

In addition to the typologies of backdrop, album art also used a number of techniques to infuse the foreground with a sense of otherness of space—a there and then quality that removed the artist and the action from the here and now. These techniques were not new in visual art; they just perfectly fit the aim of the pastoral music. I am sure we have all noticed, albeit usually without overt deliberation, the techniques employed in movies to indicate a reminiscence, especially a nostalgic one of the protagonists’ halcyon days. A shift in the use of light and focus differentials are two significant components of most such scenes. Whether such a fondly remembered time is depicted indoors or on an outdoors’ green, the light suddenly seems to be bouncing off surfaces forming hazy-edged halos around them. The light is always slanting, often from the sun’s position at a low level on the horizon; unlike normal scenes, light itself is now a conspicuous part of the scenery, and not just the illuminant. Not only does a slanting sunlight form halos around foreground objects, it brightly illuminates vertical background surfaces such as a bedroom wall behind the bedpost. The camera, instead of focusing on the foreground

objects and actors, leaves them in soft focus and draws attention instead to the bouncing luminescence, a glow that appears to have been all around in the fondly remembered time of the protagonist's life.

In Chapter 1, I alluded to the pastoral of childhood, as previously identified by Marinelli (cited in Gifford 1999: 4) and Holl (1980:47). It is not pastoral merely in the sense of a simpler time. In fact, a part of the condition of modernity itself might be that for urban denizens, their childhood indeed was almost invariably a time with a greater availability of wider, more open, green spaces. The abovementioned technique, then, gets transferred over to an evocation of pastoral spaces as such. In essence, these cinematographic techniques, whose antecedents in still photography stretch even further, achieve a shift in focus away from the foreground object and their concrete surfaces whose unrelenting march we conceive of as the visual dimension of reality itself. Nostalgic and pastoral photography, whether still or cinematic, puts these surfaces themselves in soft focus and accentuates instead the theretofore imperceptible vapor or ether that hovers over all surfaces, at least on a planet endowed with an atmosphere. The haloes of bouncing off light extend for varying extents in both directions, inward and outward, from the previously sharply-focused-upon, linear surface of objects. What I am suggesting here is that the grip that mundane reality has on the visually capable human mind itself is based on an unquestioning, unthinking obeisance to the concreteness of surfaces and their unremitting grip on human consciousness and a particular understanding of the world. These surfaces appear exactly the same when light falls vertically on them, hiding its own work in imbuing them with a sense of unchanging solidity. Drawing attention to the hazy haloes of possibilities surrounding things has a way of unhinging the gaze from the tyranny of solid unchanging objects to the nebulous

ether that surrounds them with glowing possibilities. For a similar effect, one might want to undertake a simple experiment and note how similar shifts in focus and play of light on surfaces and edges of objects accompany drifting into and out of reveries.

I also want to posit that this switch of the recording device's focus and of the audience's attention from the concreteness and apparent singular all-encompassingness of unchanging surfaces of objects to the nebulous aspects of reality surrounding them has a close trans-medium and trans-sensual counterpart in the acoustic sphere and hearing. The history of Western music studies is one of unflagging focus on the fundamental pitch of sounds, the acoustic counterpart of fixity of attention on surfaces of the object world in the realm of visual perception. Much less attention has been paid in Western music practice and even lesser in its theory and pedagogy to the aspects of sound that surround that central focus of analytic attention. I would propose that there are two essential dimensions in which the *aura* of any sound (except for a pure tone) lie: timbral spectrum and resonance.[14] The latter might contain actual spatial information (when natural reverb or echo is allowed to remain in the recording) and both contain space-invoking information. Both dimensions interact, and their relationships with each other and the original sound event have a temporal-narrative aspect too. I will consider in detail these elements in later sections dedicated to sonic referents of space. Here I would like to examine examples of countercultural music and photography that evidence a poetic grasp of these principles.

Little attention has been dedicated the timbral and the resonant auras that surround and trail the articulation of the "note" that the music is supposedly about, paralleling mundane consciousness's neglect of the atmosphere that surrounds object

surfaces. In the 1969 movie *Easy Rider*, the Byrds' recording of Gerry Goffin and Carole King's "Wasn't Born to Follow" provides the soundtrack to a particular motorbike ride which ends with the two protagonists, played by Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper, picking up the hitchhiker played by Lew Askew. The shot starts with sunlight streaming through the pines and being split prismatically into rainbow colors. The emphasis is more on the light and the nebulous blobs it seems to form in the misty morning atmosphere than on any physical objects, including the pines. The visual is also reflected in the lyrics, which had already been composed before the scene was shot.

> Oh I'd rather go and journey,
> where the diamond crest is flowing,
> and runs across the valley,
> beneath the sacred mountain ,
> and wander through the forest ,
> Where the trees have leaves of prisms,
> and break the light in colors,
> That no one knows the names of (Goffin and King: 1969).

A parallel sonic technique might be seen to be at work in a song such as the Beatles' "A Day in the Life." In the bridge when someone speaks and Paul McCartney goes "into a dream" his theretofore upfront, on-mic dry voice is replaced by a sonically starkly contrasting voice (John Lennon's, who sings the verse and chorus) seemingly moving into the distance, almost falling into the dream mode, as the relative amplitude of the reverb progressively increases. In the section on ambience, I will return to other examples where similar codes imply a drifting into a pastoral reverie.

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[14] Zak (1999: 76) uses interchangeably the nomenclatures reverb and ambience, both of which I include under the subsuming category of aftersound or resonance. The nomenclature ambience itself suggests a presence around the central object of attention, and in that sense an aura.

Fig 3.7: “Leaves of Prism” by Mark Sardella. A photograph I found on the Internet (at http://www.flickr.com/photos/dr_television/1024565602/), inspired by the photography that accompanies the song “Wasn’t Born to Follow” (featuring the lyric “where trees have leaves of prism, that break the light in colors, that no one knows the names of”) in the hippie western *Easy Rider*. An example of the widely understood pastoral codes in photography and cinematography. Compare with the scene pictured below from Peter Fonda’s follow up hippie Western, *The Hired Hand*.

Fig 3.8: Peter Fonda in *The Hired Hand* (Universal, 1971). Cinematography: Vilmos Zsigmond.

Cinematography in Hippie Westerns and countercultural films paralleled the photography on pastoral album covers of the late countercultural era. The soundtracks often attempted to parallel sonically the visual effect, all working toward a common goal. The audience was not in the pastoral space they invoked, so they need to be unmoored from their physical reality and sensually be brought into a different space. Peter Fonda's next movie, *The Hired Hand* (1971), was critically and commercially less successful, but artistically it succeeded exceptionally well in a potent synaesthetic melding of pastoral moves paralleling each other. In the opening sequence, light and luminescence are the very focus of the scene played showing in slow motion the protagonist bathing in a mountain river. The sun is low on the Eastern horizon and the camera captures it in soft focus with a wide hazy halo; streams of light extend from it in the morning atmosphere.

The protagonist splashes water up from the stream toward the heavens, perhaps as a reflection of his elevated spirit, perhaps as a gesture of thanks. But what is achieved in the process is an even further spreading of the light streaming from the sun from behind. All objects, both in the foreground and the middleground, appear largely as silhouettes. The effect is one of drawing attention to the immense natural stage on which humans are mere actors. Suddenly, instead of mundane typically foregrounded specifics of constructed urban structures and live, the audience is pointed to the vast natural reality that envelopes it and dwarfs it, in time and in space. A deep sense of spirituality imbues the whole scene.

The music for the above scene and for the movie is by Bruce Langhorne and parallels and greatly enhances the cinematographic effects. Langhorne was one of a very few significant African American musicians who were involved in a folk revival-based white rock music. A multi-instrumentalist on guitar, slide guitar, banjo, violin, and an African drum that physically resembled a large tambourine (and became the inspiration for Bob Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man"), Langhorne is notable for his non-idiomatic playing of stringed instruments. He does not approach the guitar with a repertoire of motifs learned from blues or country music, as most countercultural rock musicians did. Nor does he approach the banjo with a repertoire of techniques from old-time, bluegrass, classical, or ragtime styles. His approach to playing, especially on this soundtrack, can best be described as painting impressionistic soundscapes. And these soundscapes are unimaginable without the technology of capturing and enhancing the acoustic sounds ensuing from the instruments. The very first two strikes of the banjo on the soundtrack are instructive and can lend insights into the spatial cinematic approach to music

recording that marked the late countercultural period and continues in many idioms today.

Langhorne, who plays all the instruments on the multi-tracked soundtrack, starts by playing just the root note of the intro theme, which eventually expands into a lazy, old-timey, triplet-feel fiddle tune in D Major. The rhythm of the tune, once the fiddle enters, is experienced as 1-&-uh, 2-&-uh, 3-&-uh, 4-&-uh. After playing the D on the banjo on the uh-1 of the first measure, Langhorne's picking hand pauses for almost the rest of the two measures. He then returns with a similar strike of a higher banjo string a fifth interval above on the uh-1 of the third measure, again paralleling the earlier pause for the remainder of the third and fourth measures until the pickup note for the fifth measure. Are those two notes, struck four times during the first four measures all the music for that duration? "Clearly not!" would be my response, although traditional music analysis would unlikely pay much attention to all else that is afoot.

During the long pause following the initial striking of the root note, the aftersound continues, albeit continuously changing. Multiple factors collude to ensure its temporal extension and evolution. The resonance from the corpus of the banjo and the significant studio reverb are initially the most significant ones. When Langhorne strikes what likely is intended to be a note a fifth interval higher, its interaction with the continuing elements of the aftersound imbue it with a spatial presence that can be appreciated in a powerful cinematic soundtrack, although one would have to strain to hear it without the aid of hypersensitive ears (microphones) and amplification on a stringed instrument in the real world. The second note, although roughly an A, and removed from the first note by a fifth interval, in actuality turns out to be not perfectly in tune. That is to be expected from acoustic string instruments, even today despite the aid even of on-board tuners on some

instruments. What happens in more typical performative contexts is that the minor out-of-tuneness goes unnoticed or ignored. A number of factors in communal music-making typically collaborate to encourage distraction from such minutiae—higher tempos, density of notes, clamor of instruments, contesting volumes of instrumental and ambient sounds, and the demands of human interpersonal interaction. None of these are present either for Langhorne in his solo studio recording setting or for the listener in the kind of auditing environment likely to accompany the playing of this type of movie or its audio soundtrack.

In the space between the striking of the roughly-fifth interval and the next group of notes at the end of the fourth measure, the sound of that note and its harmonics overlaps with the reverberations from the root note that are still continuing to ring. The almost fifth note and its harmonics and the root and its harmonics, being slightly out of tune, beat against each other in a manner familiar to anyone who has attempted to tune a guitar using the harmonics method. The beating has the effect of bringing the low volume persistent sound from the struck notes into conscious notice of the artist and the listener. The artist, while still in performance in the studio, is now in a position to work the continuing sound to enhance and extend its presence. The two strings on which the first two notes are played need not have been out of tune when each was played open. The second struck note, the quasi-fifth, however, appears to have been played in a fretted position. It is not unusual for two strings on most instruments, even with good intonation set-ups, to fall ever so slightly out of tune when one or both notes are fretted. Finger pressure and technique are the main factors here, in the absence of faulty instrumental fretwork intonation. In a scenario such as this, where the sustained sound of the struck strings is at least as much a part of the music as the initial sound, the effect of the

sustenance can be enhanced by changing finger pressure to vary the frequency of the beating engendered by the harmonics of each note. What results is a variable vibrato of the harmonics, which, like a conventional vibrato on a string instrument, has the effect of sustaining interest in a sound as it is decaying.[15]

SPATIAL ALLUSIONS, SONIC: MUSICAL ASPECTS

When I started this project, my overarching impression was that it is in the realm of acoustics and recording that the most significant spatializing aspects of recorded music lay. As I delved deeper, I developed a newfound appreciation for the importance, even within folk- and rock-based music, of aspects that would fall under the traditional musicological categories—pitch, melody, harmony, rhythm, texture, and dynamics. Yet, in recorded music, especially music with a central spatial agenda, the spatializing effectuality of each of the traditional categories depends to a great extent on the accompanying acoustic aspects—for example, texture is no longer just about the number and manner of vertical stacking of voices on paper, but about their material capturing in terms of relative volume, amount of reverb, composition of timbral spectra (based on close or distant miking and microphone sensitivity), and placement in a stereophonic or quadraphonic mix. . In table 5.1, I have attempted a detailed teasing out of these elements and provided some examples of each. Still, in examining the holistic musico-sonic picture, a completely individualized consideration of each element is not only difficult,

[15] There are other factors that contribute to the beating or oscillation. One is that the fifth interval in an instrument fretted with regard to the equal temperament mensuration is slightly flatter than the perfect fifth interval to which natural harmonics beat. Thus the fretted fifth would typically beat against the natural fifth harmonic present in an unfretted root note. Irrespective of the relative contributions of each factor, the main point to note here is the role of technology in amplifying the acoustic effects to bring them into or near the edge of human consciousness and then expanding the resulting effects through spreading them temporally and spatially. Also, for a consideration of how technology encouraged the development of the performative vibrato on the violin in the earlier part of twentieth century, see Katz (2005: 85-98).

but also ineffective in explicating their employment and working in tandem. Thus in the rest of this chapter, I have chosen to focus on the most conspicuous categories under which spatializing moves may be categorized. Under each rubric I do, however, consider the work of elements that properly belong under a different category but are essential for the effectiveness of a move that belongs to the category under consideration—thus, for instance, some timbral gestures that draw attention to harmonic changes will be considered under the latter category.

Tonality and Space

It is difficult to assert that either minor or major tonality has a greater inherent sense of spatiality. The difference is qualitative—each has a different sense of space and the spatial impact of each can be enhanced through drawing attention to the contrast with that of the other. We can only attempt to understand each tonality's relationship with the specific types of spaces they are used to invoke. Augmented and diminished chords, by comparison, are typically used only in passing in Western vernacular music, as in Western art music; although there are few examples in countercultural folk-based rock music of an augmented chord sustained for up to a measure and contributing significantly to the song's atmosphere, as in Danny O'Keefe's "The Road," in the main in this dissertation I will focus on the much more pervasive use of major and minor chords and modes.[16] Perhaps more important to explore, and less often considered, than the harmonic aspects are the repertoires of technical and technological moves each tonality seems to

[16] Rooksby (2009: 34-35) notes the passing use of the augmented chord in some popular songs in transition from a major chord to its relative minor or to a maj6 chord. He also points out its use in a number of songs by the Beatles, a harmonically inventive group, including, "All My Loving" (chorus), "From Me to You" (end of bridge), "It won't be long," "Michelle," "Fixing a Hole," "I'm Happy Just to Dance With You," and "Oh Darling." In folk-, country-, and blues-based countercultural music, however, augmented chords appear much more rarely.

invite to bring out its spatiality. Some moves resonate across styles and musical periods, while others are more specific to a body of associated works.

Robert P. Morgan posits that the major-minor system supplied the most significant spatial aspect of Western tonal music from 1700 to 1900. He notes that while some important thinkers on music such as Stravinsky doubted the importance of space to its experience and others such as Schopenhauer denied it outright by asserting that music is "perceived solely in and through time, to the complete exclusion of space," spatial terminologies and categories remained central in the description of Western music (Morgan 1980:527).

The gist of what Morgan seems to be saying is that the spatiality of common practice tonality was centered in a practice tradition understood well by composers, musicians, and listeners. The tradition, based partly in principles of physics and partly training, firmly established the sense of a tonal gravitational center and its relative relationship to all possible tones and combinations thereof. This tradition forms the "background" against which the particular elaborations of a specific composition, which constitute the "foreground," are understood. Thus the gravitational center of the tonic and the relative spatial distance from and relation of each tone and chord with it are sensed well by all trained in the system; the routes that might be taken back to that center are also well anticipated. In short, all familiar with the system are fairly aware of the spatial location of tonal sounds at any given point in a composition vis-à-vis the tonal home base. "Tonal space" is a term Morgan borrows to describe these pitch distances from a pitch center (Morgan 1980:528-532).

I believe that many of the ostensibly spatial categories—such as highness and lowness of pitch, smallness and largeness of pitch intervals, tonal center and a gravitation

towards it—that Morgan invokes as especially characterizing common tonality music are conceptual or metaphorical categories that are spatial mostly in name. Nevertheless, human experience is shaped by metaphors and thus it cannot be denied that, for instance, a low-pitched sound is not actually experienced spatially as something close to the ground or even subterranean, as is evidenced in descriptions such as "deep bass," "earthshaking bass," or "low guttural moan." An earthshaking bass also physically does precisely that—while setting up vibrations in the air it shakes up the earth even more powerfully and is perceived not just aurally but as vibrations conducted through the ground. Contrariwise, greater[17] frequencies and harmonics are invariably associated with constructions of highness, sometimes of heaven, as in "angelic soprano" or "celestial chimes." But are these just constructions? One suspects that a graded correspondence with the progressively cephalad parts of the human anatomy involved in producing and projecting greater frequencies, from a chesty, to a guttural, to a head voice, might also be a contributing factor in the sense of lowness or highness humans associate with lesser or greater sound frequencies. While Myers confirms that loudness is one factor in the localization of sound sources by the human hearing mechanism in terms of elevation, psychoacousticians Musicant and Butler have concluded that high-pitched or bright sounds are indeed localized higher than low-pitched or dark sounds (Kendall 1995: 32). Of course, the foregoing comments relate to overall highness or lowness of pitch[18] and their psychological effect on any human listener. The success of tonal harmony in setting up a sense of distances and space, though, as Morgan avers, is predicated on the cognizance by a trained listener (with varying degrees of competence) of the relative relationships of pitches and intervals to the tonal center and to each other.

[17] Mathematically, a frequency can be only greater or lesser compared to another frequency. The usage higher/lower is metaphorical and one I try to avoid as much as I can.

Morgan's most valid description of spatial aspects of music lies in the notion that all those aspects of music that cannot be explained in purely temporal terms have a spatial component to them. Although we cannot entirely unravel the overlap of spatial and temporal dimensions, with regards to music, as with other physical phenomena, it is useful to think of both space and time as the elements that independently or together individuate phenomena—whether objects or events. Scientifically, we might distinguish between objects and events, but phenomenologically, one might be experienced as the other. For instance, heavenly bodies are experienced by humans as objects arrayed in space while the aspect that is sensed by us is actually light events (whether of production or reflection) in time. Thus one is confused for and experienced as the other. Similarly, in music, when musicians talk about letting the music and lines have breathing space, they are actually thinking of temporal, and not spatial, separation between notes. The separation just acquires a spatial form in notation as "horizontal space." Now this could be described as another of the metaphorical categories of space, one I will refer to below as "temporal space."

Regardless, time and space together spread out for human experience the individual elements of all physical phenomena, including music. "Musical space," Morgan points out astutely, "is thus inseparable from musical time" (Morgan 1980:529). Together, musical space and time can be viewed as the totality of relationships of music's individual parts or events; without them all music will collapse into a one-dimensional, white-noise sonic blob. At any given point in time, the relationship is clearly spatial. For those trained in and oriented toward the written record of music, it is the vertical arrangement of various parts that distinguishes this spatial aspect from the horizontally

[18] Pitch, as opposed to frequency, is a perceptual attribute and the usage high/low is more apposite to it.

unfolding temporal components. Yet, two important clarifications need to be made. First, spatiality extends beyond the representation of musical parts on the page and, second, it also extends into longitudinal aspects of the transcription that would be traditionally analyzed as purely temporal.

Apropos of the former assertion, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the separation of musical parts and their specific relationships with regard to their physical sonic attributes are not just attributes of music's vertically arrayed visual representation on the page but do physically exist at any given moment in time when the music is actualized in sound. In fact, that visual representation only focuses on one of those physical attributes—pitch. The other two major and traditionally acknowledged ones, volume and timbre, are only qualitatively indicated. In this section, we will also mostly be focusing on pitch, returning to timbre in a later section. Now, whether a listener does or does not question the *directionality* of the metaphor of highness vs. lowness or comprehend the mathematical relationships of the degrees of highness, at least some *separation* of elements is sensed even by humans untrained in a specific system of music. And if this separation is between two concurrent sounds (from two sound production or reflection sources) or sonic elements (such as the fundamental and a partials band in a given sound's timbral spectrum), the relationship is spatial and not temporal. An untrained listener may not appreciate the pitch relationship of a second voice to the first if the two are perfectly synched up in time; yet the difference in the overall density of sound is sensed compared to when only one of the voices sounds. With timbral space, most ostensibly trained listeners are also not consciously aware of the individual constituent sounds within a timbral spectrum at any given point in time, but they do distinguish a timbrally complex sound from a single pure tone. All such elements that

phenomenologically have the impact of more than a single pure tone at any given moment properly belong under the category of *textural space* and will be discussed in a later section on texture.

My second assertion above was that spatial aspects may also unfold over time, i.e. horizontally on the page. This is very clear in the case of arpeggios. While arpeggios can be conceived of as temporally unfolding melodies and are also used in that sense in lead/prominent voices (as in jazz improvisation), they are even more often used as a temporalized form of chordal accompaniment. In the latter type of usage, while the notes of a chord are spread out slightly in time, they are still experienced as a manner of articulating a chord (a vertical or synchronic stack of pitches), as typical arpeggiation on most instruments features sustained ringing of the notes previously sounded. The idea that spatial aspects extend temporally, however, encompasses much more.

In fact spatial aspects may be viewed as extending over the duration of a whole piece of music. The very *structure* or *form* of a piece is a spatial concept, and not only in the spatial terminology used to conceptualize it. And, at least in written or preconceived or familiar music, it has phenomenological precedence over the actual temporal unfolding of the individual sound events. For the sake of illustrating this, let us consider the bridge of perhaps the most famous pastoral song of the twentieth century, John Denver and Bill and Taffy Danoff's "Take Me Home, Country Roads." That bridge is a 16-measure segment that starts on the vi chord and proceeds through a clearly defined and well-remembered chordal and melodic structure (the popular competence only needs be familiar with the sounds of it, and not necessarily the names of the notes and chords) to end on the dominant chord. Each time the song comes on over the airwaves or plays in our memories, we are aware on some level of the oncoming arrival of the bridge at a

specific time in the song. A performance by amateur singers, often joined in by audiences at specific junctures in a song (typically the chorus, not the bridge), at any karaoke bar for a number of popular songs makes this widely perceived and pre-existing sense of structure very explicit. Thus, phenomenologically, for anyone familiar with a piece of music, the bridge is not something that emerges in time but rather exists as a structural expectation (and hence a spatial aspect of the piece in a sense), only actualized in time.[19]

Phrase 1: /Em(vi) /D(V) /G(I) / /

/C(IV) /G /D / /

Phrase 2: /Em /F(bVII)/C /G /

/D(V) / /D7(V7)/ /

Fig. 3.9: The bridge structure of "Take Me Home, Country Roads" (Denver/Danoff/Danoff).

In the above example of "Take Me Home, Country Roads," the bridge occupies a very specific and familiar structural role. Certainly, temporally it appears at an expected juncture in a 4-minute pop song. But in terms of harmonic structure also, it meets the listeners' expectations. I do not believe that there has been a quantitative study on the most typical structure of Western pop song bridges, but to my knowledge it appears that the resounding majority of popular song bridges in the rock era (roughly 1954 to 1977), as in country songs preceding and coeval with that period, were 8- or 16-measure long and tended to suspend on the dominant chord of the verse and chorus key in the last

[19]Robert P. Morgan's concepts of space as "an ordering of individual events in relation to one another" and of musical space of a piece as "its total set of relationships" were important launching pads for the elaborations I have developed here.

measure.[20] Typically, in a major key song, they also started on a non-tonic chord, very often on one of the three diatonic minor chords, with vi and ii being commoner than iii. Thus, within its musical system, the above song's bridge rewards trained expectations and thus satisfies most customers. In North American folksong and Tin Pan Alley-descended popular music of the rock era, this guiding harmonic system was the major-minor tonal system. This analysis aligns well with Morgan's thesis, itself extrapolated from Austrian theorist Heinrich Schenker's analysis of eighteenth and nineteenth century cultivated tonal music traditions (Morgan 1980:530-533).

Morgan also points out that with tonal music's fall from cultural centrality in the last century, a number of proposals, such as Schoenberg's twelve-tone "system," were put forward in attempts to replace it with another guiding system that could eventually become as widely understood. None, however, have been able to achieve the widespread cognizance (on varying levels) that major-minor tonality had enjoyed. Thus, each composition has had to define its own guiding system. As these new guiding principles were not deeply ingrained into cultural understanding, they had to be placed close to individual pieces' compositional surface:

> There are no preordained relationships among its parts; thus all relationships must be defined contextually, by the composition itself. Such compositions have a markedly "assertive" quality, since the essential relationships are defined by surface emphasis of one kind or another (particularly repetition). The structure seems "frozen." It is as if a distinct segment of musical space is carved out for the purposes of a particular musical statement, which seems to hang motionless within it. Musical progression becomes largely a function of rhythm and surface manipulations of the available pitch fund. Structural motion, however, at least in the traditional sense, is suspended; the music "moves" only through opposition: one fund is abruptly replaced

[20] Again, my impression is that the idea and typical structures of the bridge are not intrinsic to rural Anglo-American music but entered it from the written tradition, whether through hymnals or commercial sheet

> by another, with no mediation or "modulation." An "art of transition" (to borrow Wagner's famous phrase) is replaced by one of "juxtaposition." Such music, cutting back and forth among essentially static "blocks" of sound, produces a profound spatial effect (Morgan 1980:534).

Morgan finds the most striking instance of this phenomenon in the music of Edgar Varese:

> Characteristic of Varese's music is the constant repetition of small groups of pitches. To compensate for the resulting lack in pitch motion, Varese strongly emphasizes such matters as the *registral placement of pitches*, their *timbre*, *dynamic attributes*, and *rhythmic articulation* [emphases mine]. It is indicative of a new compositional orientation that Varese himself largely relied upon spatial terms in discussing his own music, describing his compositional procedures with such words as "collision" and "penetration." He often remarked that he conceived of his musical materials as "objects," as "sound masses" to be manipulated in the manner of a sculptor constructing a mobile. With Varese, then, the spatial metaphor has come to the surface, both musically and verbally (Morgan 1980: 534-535).

Morgan, however, bemoans "the absence of a 'deeper' dimension of musical space, a system of substructural coordinates," which he holds responsible for the "somewhat 'shallow' quality of much of twentieth-century music" (Morgan 1980:535). Morgan, of course, is referring to twentieth-century Western art music. Among countercultural rock recording artists Frank Zappa was the one most famously influenced by Varese, and anyone familiar with his recorded oeuvre, starting with 1966's *Freak Out!* (Verve, 1966) and continuing with such albums as *We're Only in it for the Money* (Verve, 1968) and *Joe's Garage: Act 1* (Zappa, 1979), would recognize most of these "surface" sonic "juxtapositions" used for attention-grabbing and often explosive effect. Needless to say that the palpability of the such sonic material sputtering forth from hi-fi audiophile

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music that achieved wide circulation in the second half of the nineteenth century. By the advent of southern

speakers and wildly panning around the listeners apparently from different points, was highly dependent on the advances in the recording technology in the countercultural era. Just three years earlier, bands such as the Beatles and Yardbirds had been recording in mono, with a sound that appeared flat by the standards of the Summer of Love's recorded music.[21]

Zappa was not the only one to explore this exaggerated juxtapositional spatiality during the countercultural era. Examples abound across the so-called psychedelic albums that dominated rock for a year or so following the release in March 1967 of the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. Normal unaltered human consciousness's demands for narrative linearity, reflected also in the linear expectations of tonal music's structures, are suspended during dreams, in certain psychotic states, and under the influence of psychedelics. To represent freedom from traditional insistence on linear meaning, whether in life or in music, psychedelic rock music often forwent the formal logic of tonal music and explored and exploited new sonic juxtapositions. For a time at least, the intellectually and emotionally deep seemed best represented through what Morgan would have deemed "surface" juxtapositions. But only from a Schenkerian conception of *compositional* or *tonal space* could these almost palpable, materially bristling sonics be deemed as being superficial and only on the "surface." In terms of *physical sonic space*, rock music worked harder to envelope listeners in sonic textures issuing from all distances and depths and caressing and tickling them from all directions. Jimi Hendrix's *Electric Ladyland* and Pink Floyd's *Dark Side of the Moon* and *The Wall*

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rural music recording in the 1920s, these structures had become matter-of-fact within rural popular music.
[21] Peter Doyle, however, seriously contends that idea in his monograph on space in monaural recordings, *Echo and Reverb*.

are perennial favorites that emerged from this fascination with composing with sound.[22] While in Western art music, *musique concrete* had already been using that method for over two decades, its incorporation into countercultural rock coincided with technological advances that could lend the sound much more palpable material presence. With the exception of some rock works, including the aforementioned albums, rock music, even in the heady countercultural era, was less a purely intellectual enterprise, as *musique concrete* had been, and more an aesthetic one. Thus eventually the novelty of sound effects and sonic juxtapositions for their own sake wore on most performers. Most counterculturists got burnt out on the swirling heady trips, chemical or sonic, and turned to Nature for inspiration, aesthetic or chemical.[23]

Emphasis now returned to what might be regarded as more conventionally musical and poetic aspects, with the newer capabilities of recording and reproduction equipment working more subtly at the service of an array of musics with an agenda of capturing a sense of natural spaces, even if infused with a healthy dose of fantasy. Folk and country rock erected sonic sculptures, part realist and part impressionist, of North American and sometimes Celtic sylvan, pastoral, and agrarian spaces; Afrocentric jazz and Latin rock created pan-African and Afro-Caribbean pastorals; and pastoral jazz

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[22] Hendrix's obsession with studio experimentation was legendary and *Electric Ladyland* (Polydor, 1968) famously emerged from the phase in his career where he increasingly sequestered himself in his own Electric Lady studios, his alchemical lab. Pink Floyd's, and especially bassist and composer Roger Waters', preoccupation with sound is no less legion, and there are at least four video documentaries available on *Dark Side of the Moon* (Capitol, 1973), with much commentary focused on the crafting of the masterpiece over thousands of studio hours. These include: *Pink Floyd: The Making of the Dark Side of the Moon* (Eagle Vision, 2005), *Pink Floyd: The Dark Side, Interviews* (New World Digital, 2009), *Pink Floyd: Dark Side of the Moon, Music in Review*, and *Pink Floyd: Dark Side of the Moon, The Ultimate Critical Review* (Classic Rock Legends, 2009). That album also has had a string of texts devoted to it including the academic compendium *Speak to Me: The Legacy of Pink Floyd's Dark Side of the Moon* (Reising 2006).

[23] Bob Dylan is most famously noted to have escaped the excesses of the psychedelic era by hiding in the Woodstock Mountains after a motorcycle accident in 1966; he emerged in late 1967 with the acoustic folk rock/Americana of *John Wesley Harding*, an album that is regarded as a harbinger of the country rock to follow and a pointer to a way out of the psychedelic overkill in music. Synthetic psychedelics fell out of favor by the end of the sixties, and despite some musicians' trysts with harder substances, Nature's own

captured American and Nordic Spaces. None of these used sound for purely sonic attention-grabbing effect in the way art rocker Zappa or psychedelic rockers had. It was mostly a case of sonic possibilities of musical gestures, revealed by technology, coming to the fore and settling at the center of music making. By about 1974, a new generation of artists, even in acoustic dominant "folk" genres, who by now had internalized the new sonic possibilities, put the new technologies at the service of pastoral musics that had been waiting for these developments. Tony Rice's *California Autumn* (Rebel, 1974), Michael Martin Murphey's *Geronimo's Cadillac* (A&M, 1972), *Cosmic Cowboy Souvenir* (A&M, 1973), *Blue Sky, Night Thunder* (Columbia, 1975), and *Flowing Free Forever* (Columbia, 1976), and Kate Wolf's *Safe at Anchor* (Kaleidoscope, 1979), *Close to You* (Kaleidoscope, 1980), and *Poet's Heart* (Kaleidoscope, 1985) are just some of the many works that evidence a shift in the spatial imagination and capability in some of these genres—nominally progressive bluegrass, progressive country, and country folk in the cases of the aforementioned three artists. It is with these subtler constructions of space that I concern myself, in the main, in this work.

As I have noted earlier, in my listening experience, in much of Anglo-American traditional music, spatialities latent in chords are brought out by drawing attention to the contrasting spatialities inherent in different tonalities, most often the contrast between diatonic major and minor chords. Other chords rarely occur. In Tin Pan Alley standards and their analysis, conversely, moves that cannot be explained in term of the parent key of the song are typically interpreted with respect to temporary key centers. In most such standards these abound and thus the performative and competent listening focus remains on interpreting the ii-V-Is in each of the shifting key centers. Theory in those genres

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"sweet leaf" marijuana was the chemical of choice in the 1970s. In the country-inflected genres, however, many musicians, for instance Michael Martin Murphey and Kate Wolf, were uninterested in drugs.

emphasizes that analysis should focus on and "reflect how *the* [emphasis mine] ear hears" these *changes* (Harrison, 1998:74).[24]

In vernacular musics that are not based in such urban harmonic traditions, however, such multiple switches to temporary keys are far from the norm. The "folk" ear does not expect them. Thus, each time such an unexpected switch does occur, musicians have a tendency to linger and savor the contrast in flavor, mood, and spatiality set up by the shift. While within simpler folk harmonic traditions such shifts might be unexpected, in the countercultural era singer-songwriter idiom (whether couched in a country rock, soft rock, country folk, progressive country, or progressive bluegrass derived stylistic envelope) with its increasingly complex lyrics, such shifts were not random but used specifically in response to lyrical cues or demands, of specific moods or inner spaces and congruent outside spaces. Progressive improvements in recording technology during the countercultural era only led to an increasing focus on acoustic and sonic ways of emphasizing these contrasting moods and spatialities, both through what could be captured and through elaboration of what more could be played that now could be captured.

While there have been examples of more unusual chordal progressions or harmonic shift in acoustic folk derived countercultural era music, my focus in this work is primarily on how the spatial characteristics and inherent contrasts of tonalities are emphasized through milking technology and technique in the service of the narrative and emotional agendas of pieces. To that end, I will focus on the following category of harmonic moves: (a) moves to the relative minor mode or the vi chord, (b) use of diatonic

[24] Tonal and jazz theory based analysts assume that *the* human ear has only one kind of natural or trained interpretation of any given harmonic move. Robert Morgan's suggestion that even in Western art music in the twentieth-century, there is limited consistency of harmonic motion and relationships, and each piece has

minor chords ii and iii, (c) moves to the parallel minor or borrowing chords from it, (d) use of secondary dominants. In all this, my hope is to demonstrate that in a music that is harmonically simpler than classical and jazz, each change has more affective weight and typically also dwells on the shift in atmosphere or sense of space. In late countercultural recorded music, both evolving technology and techniques abetted by it worked in tandem to exploit even further these changes for all their emotional and spatial potential.

In early Anglo-American folk music before the founding of the "hillbilly" recording industry, there were already few standard moves that certain compositions tapped for the aforementioned effect. The commonest was a switch between the natural major and its relative minor mode in the two sections of a composition. Perhaps the most recognized tune featuring that contrast is "Wayfaring Stranger" or "Poor Wayfaring Stranger," the first known publication of which dates from 1816 in Ananias Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony, or, A Choice Collection of Psalm Tunes, Hymns, and Anthems in Three Parts*. Southern gospel popularizer Charles David Tillman has been credited as the arranger of the A and A' sections of the song in the relative minor key to the major key B section that acts as a composite chorus (first six measures) and bridge (last two measures, which suspend the harmony on the dominant of the minor key of the verse).

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to individually train a listener's interpretation of harmonic motions particular to it should help dispel such essentialists notions of natural tendencies of either harmony or *the* ear.

Section A (in Am): /Am(i) / / / /

/Dm(iv)/ /Am / /

Section A': /Am(i) / / / /

/Dm(iv)/E7(V)/Am / /

Bridge (in C): /F(IV) / /C(I) / /

/F(IV) / /E7 / /

Section A": /Am(i) / / / /

/Dm(iv)/E7(V)/Am / /

Fig 3.10: Chord structure of "Wayfaring Stranger."

In most twentieth-century interpretations of "Wayfaring Stranger," the minor key A section paints a gloomy picture of "dark clouds looming" over the protagonist, the lost human fumbling through life on earth. The lyrics and the looming pall of the A section demand a relief that is extended partly by the A' and A" sections, which resolve the harmonic tension through a more satisfying route than does the A section. While, in different interpretations, the A section either returns to the I chord through the iv, or suspends on the dominant, the A' and A" take the more definitive tension-resolving route back to the tonic through the iv and the V. Still it is the B section's move to the relative major key that actually musically uplifts the mood of the song and makes it congruent to the promise of meeting up with lost kinfolks in heaven. The B section starts on the subdominant of the relative major mode, which provides it the extra joyous push beyond the relaxed home base of the major tonic. It, however, refers back to the A section in the last two measures and ends on the dominant of the relative minor. The suspension on that high point, typical of most bridges in Anglo-American vernacular music, sets up a

resolution through A", which although almost a repetition on the A' is more definitively satisfying after the promise extended by the bridge lyrics and progression.

A number of public domain fiddle tunes popular in North America, but no doubt inspired by Old World vernacular music, use the same concept of contrasting the cheerful atmosphere set up by a major mode in one part with a somber one in the other. "Blackberry Blossom," "Temperance Reel," and "Stony Point" are three of the most famous ones. A detailed investigation into the old-time and bluegrass repertoires will surely turn up many more. My focus here is less on determining the exact prevalence of such material and more on drawing attention to the changes in its interpretation in the last four decades, many of which are informed by technological advances.

The aforementioned three tunes, interestingly, have all become standard parts of the repertoire of flatpick guitar, a style and repertory that only emerged in the 1960s with the innovations of such folk revival and urban bluegrass guitarists as Doc Watson, Clarence White, Norman Blake, and Dan Crary.[25] In the popular mainstream, early on the style was popularized and developed, among others, by Norman Blake (playing with Johnny Cash and on Bob Dylan's country rock opus *Nashville Skyline*) and David Bromberg (playing on Jerry Jeff Walker's *Mr. Bojangles* and *Driftin' Way of Life*, Bob

[25] The terms flatpick guitar or flatpicking are used here to refer to a particular style of acoustic steel-string guitar playing that emerged in the late1950s/early 1960s with the innovations of players mentioned here. Many other styles of guitar playing make use of the plectrum or the flatpick (as opposed to thumb- and finger-picks), but do not constitute "flatpicking." which is a specific style that emerged out of attempts to transpose fiddle tunes, and to some extent banjo tunes, to the dreadnought flat-top steel string guitar. The repertory has since broadened considerably to include Celtic tunes, swing jazz, and tunes from other provenance, but the defining characteristic remains an overall emphasis on constant eighth-note up-and-down motion of the pick in an attempt to replicate the sawing of the bow typical of most North American fiddle playing. Flatpickers in North America and elsewhere constitute a fairly close-knit community, now increasingly brought closer through the Internet. While they may borrow tunes to interpret from other communities (such as gypsy jazz), they operate in an independent world. *Flatpick Guitar Magazine* is the community's flagship publication and the National Flatpicking Championships in Winfield, Kansas, and the Flatpicking Championship at Merlefest in Wilkesboro, North Carolina, constitute the proving grounds. The style is integral to contemporary and progressive bluegrass, but many flatpickers do operate outside of bluegrass circles and ensemble formats—Doc Watson and Norman Blake, especially, have been regarded

Dylan's *Self Portrait*, and Paul Siebel's W*oodsmoke and Oranges* and *Jack Knife Gypsy*). Perhaps the most famous instance of acoustic flatpicking on a major rock work, however, was the intro and solo to the classic-rock playlist staple "Amie," played by Craig Lee Fuller, leader of the country rock band Pure Prairie League on their 1972 sophomore release, *Bustin' Out*. That spatially-bristling album was one of the records that set the template for country-inflected studio soft rock for the first half of the 1970s. And among a whole arsenal of spatial moves, technical and technological, tapped by Fuller on that album, one of the techniques that stood out was one that I have labeled the "savoring scrape-strum." There are multiple musical and acoustic dimensions to the space-invoking capacities and usage of this move in folk- and country-inflected countercultural era music. But before we consider these, we would be served well by an overview of the history of the steel-string acoustic guitar in folk and country music in the years before the scrape-strum emerged as a staple.[26]

The use of steel-string acoustic guitar in Anglo-American vernacular music goes back almost to the invention of the steel string guitar c. 1880s/1890s.[27] In the years before the emergence of the hillbilly recording industry in the early 1920s, apparently stylistic development was slow to occur. By contrast, development was rapid in the first five years after the earliest appearance of the steel-string guitar on a hillbilly recording in 1923. These were also the years that the steel-string guitar first appeared on popular, jazz, and blues recordings, all of which influenced the stylistic development of virtuosos such as

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as old-time musicians and Italian phenomenon Beppe Gambetta mostly performs solo a repertoire that includes many Italian and continental European tunes.

[26] While transcribing the recordings of Norman Blake in the *Norman Blake Songbook*, flatpicker Steve Kaufman labels this move a "brush strum." I call it the scrape strum, especially because in many instances the surface scraping noise, consisiting of a higher relative amplitude of partials, is emphasized by guitarists, either by partly muting the strings or by changing the contact angle with the pick or thumb/fingers. Michael Martin Murphy told me that his inspiration for using the move came from flamenco guitar, where the fingers execute the move.

flatpicker Hoke Rice. With the exception of Rice's blazing jazz-inspired playing, most early stylistic innovators of country acoustic steel-string guitar played with a thumbpick and fingers.[28] Acoustic flatpickers in country music remained content with keeping the guitar in an accompaniment role, rarely venturing past bass runs and strumming.

With the development of the electric guitar, some of the emphasis on stylistic development in the late 1930s and over the next two decades shifted to the louder instrument that now offered newer possibilities. The immense popularity of African American urban styles and guitarists also distracted country guitarists to focus on coming up with their own adaptations of boogie-woogie and jump blues guitar styles. This focus is clearly in evidence on the hundreds of hillbilly boogie recordings that emerged in the post-WWII era. Arthur "Guitar Boogie" Smith set the standard for fretboard pyrotechnics with his 1945 instrumental "Guitar Boogie," a song that later inspired numerous rock take-offs. The Delmore Brothers lent the trend its moniker with their 1946 recording "Hillbilly Boogie," and their records featured some of the hottest solos in jump-blues-inspired styles by Zeke Turner, Roy Lanham, Jethro Burns, and Merle Travis (Russell 1993:5). Hank Garland, Jimmy Bryant, Grady Martin, and Joe Maphis were other versatile sessions greats who also refined the art of hillbilly boogie electric guitar.

In developing guitaristic virtuosity during these years, the emphasis was definitely on the electric guitar. In more acoustic-oriented traditional-sounding music, whether the contemporary old-time music of Roy Acuff or the bluegrass of Bill Monroe, the virtuosic

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[27] Darryl Martin notes that the exact date of invention of the steel string guitar is not known. Nor is it clear if Gibson or Larson Brothers were the first to develop a steel-string instrument (Martin: 93).

[28] The Western Kentucky coal mine region fingerpicking style descended from African American guitarist Arnold Schultz proved most influential from the 1930s through 1950s, especially through the popularity of star exponents Merle Travis (after whom the style was labeled "Travis picking") and Chet Atkins. This style featured and alternating-thumb bass part on the lower three strings and a syncopated melody played on the upper three. Maybelle Carter's style reversed that by featuring the melody on the bass strings and strummed chords on top. All three influential figures played with a thumbpick and fingers (with or without

focus remained on the louder melodic instruments, the fiddle, the mandolin, the banjo, and the dobro. Acoustic guitar innovations, if they occurred, were slow to develop and slower to emerge. Alton Delmore and Don Reno were two acoustic flatpick players who did develop a lead guitar style on the acoustic; other guitarists such as George Shuffler and banjoist Earl Scruggs developed a lead role for the guitar by playing thumb-and-two-finger rolls employing a thumbpick and fingerpicks; flatpickers would later adapt this style into a flatpick style called "crosspicking" (Traum 1974).

One could say that technology was already encouraging the development of flatpick acoustic guitar technique on some level. The development of the steel-string guitar itself in the latter part of the previous century by Larson Brothers and Gibson was a prerequisite, to some extent, for the development of many techniques that require the tautness of the steel strings, when tuned to the same pitch as the forerunning gut-string guitars.[29] Better inner bracing styles and the introduction of the truss rod in the early part of the twentieth-century led to emergence of guitars that could support well the tension of steel strings tuned up to that pitch (Martin 1999:88-97). The next major innovation in steel guitar was the introduction of the dreadnought by Martin in 1930. The design gained in popularity not because it was the loudest acoustic guitar design with unmatched projection, which it was, but rather because of its prominent use by Gene Autry, the most widely identified country and western star of the late 1930s and 1940s (Martin 1998:100-101). The dreadnought, however, would become the steel-string acoustic guitar design of choice for all bluegrass and old-time flatpickers and eventually of countercultural musicians who melded those influences with many others.

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fingerpicks). Even Earl Scruggs, an early melodic player in bluegrass, transposed his own melodic three-finger rolls to the guitar while still wearing thumb- and finger-picks.

[29] The timbral qualities and possibilities of steel strings and their various metallic coatings would also be widely exploited in New Acoustic and New Age music, as in other styles, later on.

Still, in none of the folk revival era recordings (c. 1956-1964) is the technique of the slow, space-savoring "scrape strum" in evidence. But in recordings of countercultural and post-countercultural acoustic music, it is a technique that is widely exploited, irrespective of the category under which the music might have been marketed. One can hear it extensively not only in albums where the high-end studio shimmer is obvious, such as the country rock of Craig Fuller and Pure Prairie League or the more unassumingly labeled "country folk" of Kate Wolf or the "progressive country music" of Michael Martin Murphey, but also in the playing of flatpick guitarists who came into their own in the countercultural era including "old-time" flatpicker Norman Blake and progressive bluegrass picker Dan Crary.

I started this chapter with a thorough and systematic breakdown of the various elements that contribute toward enhancing the feeling of spaciousness on recordings. While it is possible to tease out all the contributing elements in such a dissection, in actual recordings, multiple elements typically work in cahoots for maximizing their effectuality. Thus, in our analysis of any given element, in the present case the technique of the scrape-strum, it is impossible to consider it apart from the other elements which make it maximally effective. Therefore in this section on analysis, I will pick out some of the most widely-exploited elements and examine their use on records in conjunction with their other typical accompaniments.

The scrape-strum, on one level, is an attention drawing ploy. It announces a shift, a change, an event. Very often that event is harmonic. Yet the underlying reason for the harmonic event is the music's or the lyrics' need for a change in the atmosphere or spatiality to be suggested. Although when I undertook this dissertation, I was convinced that the preponderance of moves that enhanced the spatiality of the musics on which I

was focusing were largely sonic, the further I analyzed recordings of individual pieces, the clearer it became to me that that assumption was inaccurate. I can now say that many, if not the majority, of such moves, in fact, do draw attention to and enhance the spatial effects of harmonic changes. The harmonic changes, however, are not random but guided by the spatial journeys suggested by the lyrical composition or by narrative intensions, if it is an instrumental piece. From many of my respondents, I got the sense that as musicians, they see their role as bringing out the intent of the lyrics. The moves utilized could largely be categorized under the category of "word painting." These effects are very often entirely sonic or acoustic. At a prior level, the singer-songwriter or composer, in addition, have access to an equally powerful traditional tool for conjuring up atmospheres and that was harmonic moves. Such harmonic shifts had long been available for spatial evocative purposes and it was the new ears that recording technology lent musicians in the countercultural era that aided full exploitation of the spatial potentials of harmonic shifts.

The simplest usage of the scrape-strum on the steel-string acoustic guitar is to announce the arrival of one of the three diatonic minor chords in a composition, at least a part of which is in the relative major (Ionian) or sometimes in the myxolydian mode. In Anglo-American folk music, a majority of traditional compositions are based around the three main chords of a major scale, the tonic I, the dominant V, and the sub-dominant IV.[30] I would venture that less than half of all compositions have any minor chords in the harmony, and these are typically the ones diatonic to the key. The commonest of these is the relative minor vi, while the ii and the iii appear less often, but not infrequently. In a number of tunes, often called modal tunes, such as "Little Maggie," "Little

[30] The stereotypical image of the simplicity of country music, as reflected in the title of Nick Tosches' book *Three Chords and the Truth*, comes from this traditional harmonic structural reliance.

Beggarman/Red Haired Boy," "Salt Creek," "Little Maggie," "Old Joe Clark,"and "Over the Waterfall," all of which are in the myxolydian mode, the bVII almost always is required, the IV often appears, and the V, if used, is typically in a major triad or dominant form rather than the minor v expected of the myxolydian mode. With these limited and fairly expected available harmonic contrasts, "old-time" and bluegrass musicians working in the last four decades with enhanced spatial capabilities of emergent recording technology learnt to rely on technique to bring out the contrast. Artists with a more pop orientation or training, however, would also tap into additional harmonic options, some derived from conventional harmony and some much less so. Craig Fuller of Pure Prairie League, for instance, would definitely fall in the latter category and Kate Wolf's work would extend from the harmonically simple folk-oriented material of her early compositions to songs that were harmonically increasingly innovative.

On the more folk harmony end of the spectrum, Norman Blake and Dan Crary are two flatpick guitar masters who judiciously but unfailingly draw upon variants of the scrape-strum to draw attention to a diatonic minor chord, whether one used in passing for a measure or two or one announcing a switch to the relative minor for a section of the song. In Norman Blake's playing, this move is most in evidence on the recordings of songs such as "Grey Coat Soldiers" and "Lincoln's Funeral Train" that have sections that move between a relative major and minor keys. These are also songs that paint the pictures of bygone eras where time seems to move slowly. Blake is a master of creating that old-timey feeling by taking the listener back to the Civil War era, something that country rock musicians such as The Band and Paul Kennerley also enjoyed.[31] While the

[31] Paul Kennerley, a Brit besotted with romantic Americana, started his musical career with two all-star albums dedicated to resurrecting the Civil War-era South and the Old West in country rock operas *White Mansions: A Tale from the American Civil War (1861-1865)* and *The Legend of Jesse James*; he later married Emmylou Harris, moved to Nashville to become a hit songwriter for the city's New Traditional

slow-to-medium tempi and the lilting rhythms of Blake's right hand contribute to painting an unhurried picture of the past, the announcement of a switch to the relative minor key by a ringing open chord, typically with three or four open strings, helps limn the historic scenarios with a reflective haloing glow, much like light and camera angles do in nostalgic sequences in movies. In fact, Blake in his later years has slowed down such atmospheric tunes even further, allowing more temporal space for the insertion of such scrape-strums and for the audience to savor the sustaining resonance and the unfolding events within its timbral spectrum.

But the effectiveness of a move such as the scrape-strum becomes even more pronounced in the hands of Dan Crary. Crary, a communications professor at California State University, Fullerton, worked as an amateur guitarist through much of the 1960s developing his very distinctive techniques almost in isolation. It was only in 1969 after a move to Louisville, Kentucky, for his Ph.D. that he joined his first bluegrass band, the Bluegrass Alliance, a counterculture-influenced grouped that helped usher in the sound that would later be identified as progressive bluegrass or newgrass. While he did record a number of albums with bluegrass supergroups such as Berline-Crary-Hickman, Crary would become known most as a practitioner of what for a time in the 1980s was called New Acoustic Music. His recordings under his own name typically highlighted the steel-string guitar taking on a wide repertoire, interpreted flatpick style. New Acoustic Music, benefiting from the advances in recording technology in the 1970s, was a recorded music of exceptional quality and shimmering spatiality. In the works of Tony Rice, for instance, it even crossed over to some crossover jazz audiences, who for long had been used to

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movement in the 1980s. Both Kennerley albums were produced by Glyn Johns, who had earlier guided the Eagles to record a project similar to the latter, *Desperado*, inspired loosely by the Doolin-Dalton gang. For The Band's "cinematic" music, with Civil War-era sceneries, and other sonic and musical gestures suggesting languor, see Emblidge (1976).

better quality recordings than bluegrass audiences until the 1960s had been, and who at the time were patronizing the pastoral jazz works of the likes of Ralph Towner and Pat Metheny and the atmospheric New Age guitar works of Windham Hill artists such as Will Ackerman and Michael Hedges.

Among a glut of flatpickers who emerged in the aftermath of Tony Rice's elevating the guitar to the forefront of bluegrass-inspired music, Crary's *technique* and *sound* have continued to stand out. Both contribute to his success with spatial moves. Crary has been a champion of Taylor guitars, a company known for its distinctive sonic aesthetic, which stands in stark contrast to Martin, the company that introduced the dreadnought and inspired most major dreadnought takeoffs until the 1970s. While Martin offers a mid-range-dominant, rounded, punchy tone, exceptionally suited for projecting over the volume of a bluegrass band, Taylor dreadnoughts' spectrum definitely veers toward the higher end and works exceptionally for solo performance if the lower end can be boosted with on-board electronics or outboard miking and amplification.[32] Many traditional flatpickers have found Taylor's mid-range lacking, which takes away from the singing sustain required for melodic linear picking. After all, the single greatest inspiration for the development of the flatpick style had been a desire to transpose the flowing legato lines of fiddle tunes to the guitar. Crary, however, started as a solo guitarist and has continued to play alone, live and often on recording. Thus, the wider span and balance of the Taylor spectrum works well for his performance preference. He has also developed a textural vocabulary that even further exploits the contrast between the highs and the lows offered by Taylors. This is best in evidence on an album he

[32] In "Dan Crary: Flatpicking Legend," Crary explains how his signature model Taylor dreadnought was developed with the specific aim of better performance as a miked and not a purely acoustic, instrument. With each prototype, Crary reported back to Taylor regarding how the guitar sounded through the PA system.

recorded in 1994, *Jammed if I Do* (Sugar Hill), which juxtaposed his sound against that of the most significant living flatpick guitar legends—Doc Watson, Norman Blake, and Tony Rice—and Beppe Gambetta, the then recent flatpick phenomenon from Genoa, Italy. Among a flurry of *notes*, all judiciously chosen and placed, the most memorable *sonic* highlights of the album come from Crary's guitar. But before examining those moves, it is helpful to understand other elements of Crary's sound that contribute to the efficacy of his attention-grabbing space-limning ploys.

In flatpick circles, the overall preference has been on a singing rounded guitar tone. On the holy grail of that tone, a majority of professional flatpickers have gravitated toward thick and hard plectra, either sculpted out of the shell of the endangered hawksbill sea turtle or simulating that sound. Unfinished, the lamellate edge of the turtle shell (mistakenly called "tortoise shell" in guitarist argot) plectrum offers an exceptional proportion of higher harmonics but with an equal, and to most ears unacceptable, amount of scratching noise. Thus, most flatpickers working with shell or simulacra tend to use thick picks with the edges rounded off. In masterful hands, the tone achieved with the combination of a Martin-style dreadnought and such plectra is in the tonal spectrum ranging from Norman Blake's to Tony Rice's—singing, warm, mid-range. Most flatpickers also pick over the center of the sound hole or toward the neck end of the hole for the majority of the time, which contributes to the rounded tone.

Dan Crary, by contrast, uses Fender "classic celluloid" plastic plectra. Although classified as heavy, they are much thinner (0.85 to 1.06 mm) than the flatpicking guitar standard of 1.4 mm or greater thickness. In addition, in place of anchoring his little finger on the pickguard and playing closer to the neck end of the soundhole, Crary's technique, rare among flatpickers, is based in anchoring his wrist on the bridge, which requires him

to play closer to the bridge end of the strings. This allows him a number of things, or limits his playing in specific ways, which constitute the essential elements of his sound. First, with the firm anchor on the bridge, he is able to attack the low strings hard, even at furious tempos. This helps him emphasize the lower end of the frequency spectrum. His thinner plastic pick and the acuter angle at which the pick hits the strings because of the firmly anchored wrist, however, also add a scratchy high frequency harmonic component even when he is playing the bass strings. The bracing on Crary's signature model developed by Taylor was also designed to project a "crisp bass."[33]

While crosspicking, i.e. picking out certain notes of the melody integrated into arpeggiated patterns played across three or more strings, is a common flatpicking approach to interpreting some tunes or tune sections, especially on banjo tunes and Carter-Family-style songs, the overall emphasis of the style still remains on melodic linear lines. Crary, by contrast, perhaps because of his solo performance history, has expanded the crosspicking technique to unprecedented heights. Very often his crosspicking patterns cover all six strings, moving from low to high strings in groups of three or four.[34] Not only do these flaunt the impressive breadth of the frequency spectrum of the Taylor dreadnought guitar but, as is essential to crosspicking, they keep all the tones ringing with drawn-out sustain and juxtapose ringing highs against sonorous lows. In fact, the developments in acoustic guitar music since the 1980s, especially following the influence of Windham Hill "New Age" recording artists Michael Hedges and Alex de

[33] Crary has released three instruction packages. These include *Dan Crary Teaches Flatpicking Fiddle Tunes* (Homespun Tapes: six audio tapes plus sheet music and guitar tablature), *Dan Crary's Flatpick Guitar Workshop* (Homespun Tapes: VHS tape plus sheet music and tablature), and *The Flatpicker's Guide* (Centerstream Publications, 1986: audio tape plus book). The audio component of each is available in digital format now. In each, Crary details his picking style, although, as seems typical of vernacular musicians, he does not emphasize the acoustic/sonic advantages of his techniques. For the Crary signature model, see Stein 1997.

Grassi, have tended to even further exaggerate such wide-ranging sonorities through exploiting the progressively improving on-board amplification systems found on most acoustic guitars now.

Returning to Crary's use of the scrape-strum, in his case executed more rapidly and approaching a *rake* as popularized by gypsy jazz guitar legend Django Reinhardt or a *sweep* as used in 1980s classical metal shred guitar styles, we can examine his precise placement of the move at specific harmonic junctures in a tune. Until now, in terms of harmonic progressions in the traditional Anglo-American folk repertoire, we have discussed the appearance of minor diatonic chords or sections based out of the relative minor scale, as in the tunes "Blackberry Blossom" and "Stony Point." Those tunes for long have featured the contrasting section in the relative minor key, a switch that flatpickers relish. One reason for guitarists particularly enjoying such tunes is the guitar's ability to exploit the change to the relative minor in certain "guitaristic" keys. Both the abovementioned tunes as well as the earlier alluded to "Temperance Reel" are in the relative keys of G major and E minor. Another popular guitaristic combination is the combination of C major and A minor, as found in "Wayfaring Stranger." The switch to the relative minor section is announced by techniques that use five or six strings, four of them ringing open in E minor in the first position on the standard-tuned guitar and two or three ringing open in A minor.

In typical fiddle tunes, such as the aforementioned, the major key section, whether the A or the B, features the memorable relatively cheerful main melody of the tune. In their actual execution in American fiddle tune traditions, whether played on the fiddle or adapted to the flatpicked guitar or mandolin, the melody in the major section is fleshed

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[34] Only David Grier has mastered such wide crosspicking patterns in recent years. Not unexpectedly then, Grier also eventually recorded an unaccompanied flatpick guitar instrumental album, *I've Got the House to*

out to yield linear eighth-note lines that can be played with a constant sawing motion on the fiddle or strictly alternating up-and-down attack with the plectrum on the guitar or the mandolin. The major sections thus typically favor linearity with small neighboring intervals from the scale. The minor section, sets up multiple types of contrasts with that section. First, as mentioned earlier, based both in the physical relationships of intervals and in the history of their usage within Western music, minor chords carry with them the psychological weight of their longstanding associations with distinctive moods and atmospheres. Just a switch to the relative minor brings up these associations for even minimally competent listeners. Beyond that, it is the job of the composer, the musicians, and the recordists to enhance the contrasts among compositions or interpretations , for the sake of infusing a sense of distinctiveness, progression, and narrativity, among other things. A tune such as "Blackberry Blossom" that is often accompanied by lyrics helps verbalize the contrasts between the moods and atmospheres inspired by the major and the minor key sections. In Michelle Shocked's version from her 1992 album *Arkansas Traveler,* the major section lyrics are also sad, but in a gentle wistful manner. The lyrics of the three minor sections are much more foreboding, in a way parallel with those of the A section of "Wayfaring Stranger" and the switch to Em accompanies these first lines in each minor key section, "the bramble was wild, I was torn by the briars," "the Arkansas crow is a devil and a demon," and "the Arkansas clay is rocky and hard."

Beyond lyrical evidence about the contrasting atmospheres intended of a minor key with respect to its relative major, as is available on compositions such as "Wayfaring Stranger" and "Blackberry Blossom" that are interpreted both without and with words, there is a host of reliable musical and acoustic evidence available regarding their

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Myself (Dreadnought, 2002).

consistently interpreted character across a number of renditions. This evidence also tallies with the musical and sonic treatment of similar harmonic moves in newer compositions that have not been as widely interpreted.

On Dan Crary's *Jammed if I Do*, the interpretation of "St. Anne's Reel" is one inspired by tunes such as the aforementioned three fiddle tunes. In its traditional versions, "St. Anne's Reel" features two sections, both typically sounded in the key of D major, but played out of the C chord shapes with a capo placed at the second fret on the guitar. Crary is one of few musicians who have popularized the extended version of the tune that returns to the A section after the AABB run through, this time adapting the melody slightly to conform to A minor (i) and D minor (iv) chords, which replace the C and the F of the A section. Thus this A' section is in the relative minor key of the original A section and helps clarify how the melodic contour of the A section adapts, with requisite interval adjustments, to a similar progression harmonized out of the relative minor mode, as also the distinctive atmosphere sets up by the relative minor mode despite the essential parallelism. Unlike the earlier mentioned tunes, this relative minor section is not composed to contrast with the major key section. Thus, many aspects, such as the higher note frequency (notes per measure) typical of major key fiddle tune sections do carry over to it to an extent.

Still, Crary is able to emphasize the change by employing certain moves that are typical of a switch to the diatonic minors across vocal and instrumental music. The first such move is, as mentioned, a decreased rate of melodic activity (notes per measure), with musicians employing a variety of techniques, some instrument specific, to pause and draw attention to the harmonic change. On *Jammed*, in the A section of the minor part of "St. Anne's Reel," Crary features the high-note-density approach to adapting the melodic

line to the relative minor. But in the A' section, which in fiddle tunes typically features a second run through of a the same melody with minor variations, Crary improvises a new melody that features not only a reduced number of notes but another technique to draw attention to the switch to the relative minor—a bend-and-release between the minor third interval and the second that takes up the duration of four eighth notes. This approach is not only congruent with the tendency of the melodic notes to slow down in frequency over switches to minor chords and especially on minor key sections, but the judiciously placed bend and its atypicality within the flatpicking style when interpreting fiddle tunes makes the switch to the minor key jump out and grab the listener by the ear. In addition the bend-and-release is held out and savored as is the shift in atmosphere.

The other move Crary uses over the A minor chords is a guitaristic one and is called *floating* in flatpicking circles. Essentially one or two notes across adjacent strings are played higher up on the fretboard against a chord that allows the use of a number of open ringing strings. In standard tuning on the guitar, A minor and E minor are two chords that offer three or four such open strings, respectively. It is also important to note that most such tunes that highlight the contrast between major and minor sections, as the four discussed above, have their minor sections based out of those two chords or chord shapes—E minor and A minor. On the guitar both chord shapes, unlike their relative major chord shapes, G and C respectively, offer these open stings at the permissible extremes of the guitar's pitch spectrum in the open position. Not only do they offer a pitch spectrum running from E to E across two octaves (a span which the G Major and F major chords also offer in the first position, although C major does not) but they also present their lowest and highest first position notes as open strings, which can be used for ringing sustain, sometimes as pedal points, while melodic action continues across other

fretted and open strings. As mentioned earlier, Neil Lerner has traced pedal tones as a pastoral move to at least the eighteenth century genres of the musette and the pastorale (Lerner 2001: 481-484).

On *Jammed if I do*, the most stunning spatial juxtaposition, however, occurs on "Cattle in the Cane," a fiddle tune that features a section in the parallel minor. This is a very uncommon juxtaposition in Anglo-American folk music, but as I analyzed the works of more progressive composers who have used folk music-inspired sounds, it became clear that versions of similar moves are responsible for the striking spatial juxtapositions of compositions such as Kate Wolf's "Leggett Serenade" and "Friend of Mine" and Craig Fuller's "Angel." "Cattle in the Cane" features an A section in the key of A major and a B section in A minor; the tune is played out of the A chord shapes on the guitar and not, as is more typical for flatpick guitar, in the G shapes with a capo placed on the second fret. There are clear reasons for this preference. "Cattle in the Cane" shifts within the A section from the A Ionian mode over the A major chord to G major pentatonic scale over the G major chord, the switch being equivalent to a shift to the A myxolydian in the context of the whole section. Thus playing out of the A shape allows the quick switch to the open G shape with access to open ringing strings, a preference in the flatpick style as it allows both lead and accompaniment functions. A much greater number of tunes in G or A featuring the I and the bVII chord are still played out of the G and F chord shapes (including "Salt Creek," "Red Haired Boy," and "Old Joe Clark"). So the choice of A chord shape as the anchor for playing the melody of "Cattle in the Cane" likely was based in additional incentives.

Unlike "St. Anne's Reel" in which the minored A section has been tagged on at some point during the evolutionary history of the tune, "Cattle in the Cane" has

traditionally featured the B section in a minor key, in this case the parallel minor. As the switch to A minor perhaps was known when the first flatpicker adapted the tune to the guitar, it must have appeared wise to choose the lowest position A major chord shape as the anchor for the melodic excursions of section A, as that shape can easily be molded into an A minor shape, which allows unfretted chord tones on three strings. The lowest position G shape, contrastingly, can only be converted into the third fret G minor bar chord shape, the corresponding scale of which does not allow access to many open strings. In this fretted bar chord shape, there is nothing to recommend the G minor third fret shape over the A minor on the fifth fret.[35] The latter, however, still allows access to the open root and fifth notes on strings 6, 5, and 1, if a "floating" passage is desired. On "Cattle in the Cane," Crary not only exploits these moves, just as he does on "St. Anne's Reel," he also precedes a similar second-to-minor third bend on the A minor chord with a scratchy *rake*, a more percussive and faster variant of the *scrape-strum*. The scrape with its percussive, partials-heavy sound draws the listener's attention to the oncoming switch to the minor chord and the bend into the minor third punches home the change in the harmonic backdrop and then lingers over it for a half measure to savor the atmosphere it set up.

In various executional variants the scrape-strum is used extensively in folk- and country-inspired guitar-based pastoral music. Craig Lee Fuller, using the band moniker Pure Prairie League, recorded one of the masterpieces of countercultural country rock in 1972, an album entitled *Bustin' Out*. This was the second album under the band's name,

[35] A minor is a favorite key for minor key fiddle tunes for a similar reason—access to open strings. G minor on the fiddle only demands a greater finger stretch without providing any of the strong notes (1, 5, or b3) as open strings. Similarly, on the standard-tuned guitar G minor is almost shunned in traditional old-time or bluegrass guitar music; the only G minor tune I know is the newgrass instrumental "Rattlesnake" by mandolinist David Grisman recorded initially with flatpicker Tony Rice on the latter's 1976 album *Tony Rice* (Rounder).

although by this time only the duo of Fuller, the de facto leader and creative guiding force, and George Powell remained. Powell, another singer songwriter had contributed more significantly to the eponymous debut, but on this album Fuller was in complete creative control and relied on sessions musicians to flesh out and embellish his sonic pastoral visions.

The album featured a wide variety of expressions of the countercultural pastoral. It starts with Chicago singer-songwriter Ed Holstein's "Jazzman," also covered previously by folk- and country-rock artists Steve Goodman, Bonnie Koloc, and Tom Rush on their pastoral albums. The song is a forerunner of the "Take it Easy" genre of countercultural soft rock lyrics with lines such as "one *slow* [emphasis mine] ride" and "I'm *easy* to get to and I'm *easy* [emphases mine] to please." Even in describing the personality of the protagonist, the lyrics use spatial metaphors as in, "way up and out, I'm wide and deep." Fuller's own "Early Morning Riser" integrates every laid-back, hippie, "sunshine pop" cliché in the lyric book (but to his and the music's credit without ever sounding clichéd). Consider the following lines for instance, "Early morning riser, I can still feel all your sunlight shine before the dawn," "first light morning feelings," "'cause I get a feeling something like a summer wind," and "there's so much light shining in your eyes." Overlaps with such songs as Seals and Crofts' "Summer Breeze" and Kate Wolf's glowing-with-sunshine lyrics to "Muddy Roads," and "Early Morning Melody" are immediately obvious.

The most famous of all the pastoral expressions on that album was in the related songs "Falling in and out of Love" which segues into the classic rock staple "Amie." Because the total playing time of the extended piece was over nine minutes, radio playlists opted for the catchier second part, "Amie," which still contained an outro that

returned to “Falling in and out of Love.” The pastoral of these songs was one of escaping the modern world by dropping out into a laid-back languorous love situation, a pastoral that also appears on songs such as Gram Parson’s “Blue Eyes,” Stephen Stills’ “Colorado,” and Fuller’s own “Boulder Skies” that appears later on *Bustin’ Out*, and James Taylor’s “Something in the Way She Moves,” which features lines such as “something in the way she moves, or looks my way, or calls my name, that seems to leave this troubled world behind”. The languorous element in “Amie” is emphasized in the lyric “I think I could stay with you, for a while, maybe longer, if I do.”

The most expansive and ambitious pastoral arrangement on the album, however, was “Boulder Skies,” an arrangement that slowly builds up with expansive strings orchestrated by David Bowie’s sideman Mick Ronson. The lyrics of that song juxtapose the Western pastoral of lines such as “Colorado canyon girl, set me free,” against the laid-back love pastoral of lines such as “brown eyes in the morning, looking back at me.” A similar love interest in Colorado marks Rick Roberts and Stephen Stills’ songs titled “Colorado,” both of which were also major works in early expansive pastoral country rock.

Fuller employs the scrape-strum liberally but judiciously throughout the album, especially to mark out the spatial shift at exceptional harmonic junctures. Nonetheless, like Crary, Fuller has diverse uses for the technique. A piece that best illustrates this is “Angel,” one that also appeared in 1969 on the album *The Ultimate Prophecy* by J. D. Blackfoot, with whom Craig Fuller collaborated for a short time. On *The Ultimate Prophecy*, “Angel” appeared in a much underdeveloped shape, however. Although it featured a more full-blown country rock arrangement, the arrangement was underconsidered and did not leave temporal or textural space to bring out in a nuanced

manner the covert spatialities only hinted at in the lyrics, which provide another example of the laid-back love pastoral. On *Bustin' Out,* the recording of the song features the whole gamut of spatial moves that at the time were becoming integral to the genre's language. From the very first note sounded on the acoustic guitar placed up-and-front in the mix, the recording starts charting the spatial coordinates of the pastoral space in which the protagonist dwells with the angelic girl who tacitly understands him without any significant recourse to words, "Angel is the girl that knows me well, she could say the words I say just as well as me." A very similar pastoral had characterized a number of other songs of the genre such as James Taylor's "Something in the Way She Moves," as heard in the lyric, "isn't what she's got to say, or how she thinks, or where she's been, to me the words are nice the way they sound." Of course, Taylor could be accused of not caring for the content of his paramour's thoughts, while Fuller's woman actually appears to know the content of his. Of greatest significance in such love pastorals is the superfluity of words in a world where feeling transcends thought. And the feeling is always one of laid-back comfortable repose.

Intro: (in D): /D6 /D6 /D6 /D6 /

: /F#m(iii)/C(VII) /D(I) / /

Verse: Phrase 1: (In D): /F#m(iii)/ D(I) /F#m / D /

(In G): /C(IV) / /G(I) / /

Phrase 2: (In D): /F#m(iii)/ D(I)/F#m / D /

(In G): /C(IV) / /G(I) / /

/G /2/4/

(modulation)(in F): /A#(IV) / /F(I) / / X3

/A# / /C(V) / /

Fig 3.11: Structure of Pure Prairie League's "Angel" (capo 1), recorded on *Bustin' Out* (RCA, 1972)

On the *Bustin' Out* version of "Angel," the first note is a scratchy downward glissando on a low string, with the crisp partials-heavy timbral spectrum helping locate it in the very proximal part of the foreground. As soon as the glissando ends on the down beat, a number of additional spatial gestures help chart out the other dimensions of the alluded to space. The acoustic guitar enters a D6 arpeggio figure that extends over two measures and is played twice. In the first few seconds, it also becomes apparent that right from the opening slide there were two acoustic guitar sonic images, with clear spatial separation although with much temporal and musical overlap between the guitar sounds issuing from both ends of the stereo spread. Even on listening carefully, in the first verse it is difficult to say whether it is one or two acoustic guitars playing the expansive sound across the stereo image. The temporal overlap of the left and right image suggests that it

could be the same guitar part, recorded once but differentially equalized and panned separately for each channel. The right channel sound has a sparklier sound, which could be because of a brighter equalization curve, the final mix creating the sonic illusion that the higher strings are located to the right of the listener. The left channel emphasizes the bass end of the spectrum and appears to represent the lower strings. Thus the guitar strings sound as if they were individual sound sources spread out around the listener. Such an artificial enveloping spread has enamored studio-conscious musicians since countercultural days. The drum set, for instance, is often mixed as a stretched out array of sound sources in the stereo spectrum, a spread much wider than the narrow angle of incidence of a real drum kit audited by a listener (though not the drummer) in a live setting. In recent years, solo bass guitar virtuoso recordists Brian Bromberg and Victor Wooten have had special multichannel stereo instruments manufactured on which each string has a separate pickup and output that can be sent individually to the mixing board for an eventual spread that would capture a sound spread perhaps auditable only on an acoustic guitar or bass if a shrunken human head with both ears could be placed right between the strings. So much for realism in spatial images in recordings!

On “Angel” as the song proceeds, it does become clear that the two acoustic guitar images are indeed two individual guitars. It would be a rare popular music listener, still, who would immediately discern a difference in the musical parts played by these two guitars. In fact, it is after more than a thousand listenings to this song over fifteen years that I am finally beginning to appreciate that there are, in fact, two flatpicked acoustic steel string guitars on it. What does affect a listener is the enveloping presence of the acoustic guitar sounds. The two guitar parts evidence no overt effort on the player’s or players’ part to distinguish their *musical* content; whatever minor differences are there

appear mostly coincidental or a result of attempting to achieve timbral distinctiveness between the two parts. For instance, some of the arpeggiated figures appear to have been played in different positions on the neck.

What is important to note in such cases as this is not what exactly did happen in the making of the recording but what apparently is as it is audited. In many cases, I have found it not only impossible to request an interview or a comment from the artists, as with Craig Fuller in this case, but in most cases where I did get in touch with the recordists, memories were typically fuzzy regarding particulars of recordings. The ideal situation in such cases might be an opportunity to sit down with multiple involved recordists and to interrogate them while refreshing their memories by playing their recorded works for them, a desirable scenario that would be the delight of a fan-cum-ethnomusicologist but one that is more a fantasy than a real possibility. Even in the lack of such revelatory verbal testimony from the makers of the music, the aural evidence remains, and the attempt of this dissertation is to invite us all to listen intently and specifically for spatializing sonic gestures, at least to the extent they deserve in specific genres, and give them the due musicology reserves for traditionally valorized musical elements.

While this recording of “Angel” offers a treasure trove of spatializing gestures for the analyst, many of them belong in categories yet to be discussed in this work. So, I shall revisit this recording again under those rubrics. For now, let us return to the focus of this section—harmonic changes, their inherent contrasting spatialities, and the use of techniques such as the scrape-strum to announce and enhance those contrasts. I already referred to the acoustic guitars’ bristling foreground presence, likely thanks to a combination of microphone sensitivity and the equalization curves. Scratches abound and

each position shift with the fretting hand registers a significant amount of scraping sound, a sound almost normalized within folk-based soft rock starting around the countercultural era with Jefferson Airplane's *Surrealistic Pillow* and Tom Rush's *The Circle Game*. Listen to the pastoral pieces "Coming Back to Me" on the former and "Rockport Sunday" on the latter as examples. In fact, Craig Fuller's so-called country rock was very much a continuation of those differently categorized pastoral spatial musics.

Fig. 5.11 provides the basic form of "Angel." There are no official transcriptions available of the song and, thus, the analysis of the key is based on the audited key on the CD recording. The conjecture regarding the use of a capo and its placement is also mine and is based on an analysis of the sound of the notes heard on the recording and not merely their pitch; I am also helped in that analysis by a longstanding familiarity with the history of folk-based flatpick guitar and sonic preferences of musicians in related genres. Use of the capo is integral to Anglo-American folk based music. Not enough has been written about the diminutive "third hand," however, as it is often dismissed as a "cheater." While it is true that live communal performers often use the capo merely for transposing a technically familiar guitar part to match a key more suitable to the fiddle or a singer's voice (as in a jam session), there are other incentives for the device's use. Almost all of these would fall under the encompassing rubric of "attempts to achieve sonic distinctiveness." While considering the role of the capo would lead us down another ostensible tangent, it is one that is not really tangential but rather quite integral to the development of Anglo-American folk music based guitar styles, especially flatpick guitar.

We should start by considering why a capo is used in flatpicking at all. One reason was ventured above. So we can begin by questioning why fiddle tunes are

typically not in flatpick guitar friendly keys. With the standard EADG in-fifths tuning of the fiddle, A and D major are the most comfortable keys as they afford the root and the fifth as open strings on which the fiddler can saw even without using the fingerboard hand; the melody notes and embellishments can then be added with an easy drop of the fingers. In folk guitar, however, the commonest shapes out of which melodies or accompaniment is played, are G and C major in the first position, each a whole step below the respective favored keys for fiddle tunes. What could be the reasons for a preference for these keys? One, as mentioned earlier, is the ringing sonorities offered in the first position by G and C major chord shapes (also called "cowboy chords") and their relative minor chords, E and A minor, a switch to which is the commonest move in folk music outside of the three major diatonic triadic chords. The other reason also has to do with resonance. The G and the C "cowboy chords" in their first position offer the 5-1-3 triad in the middle-to-high part of the chord on all open ringing strings in the G shape and on two open ones in the C shape. This triad is the typical configuration of the "close" vocal harmonies too in Anglo-American folk tradition. Thus the part that the "folk" ear first gravitates to has a ringing relaxed sonority to it in the G and C shape, even when played with a capo on the second fret to make them sound in A and D. This contrasts with the lowest position A and D closed chord shapes which offer the triad in the same configuration in a fretted form, and thus relatively dampened.[36]

[36] The physical acoustics, and perhaps psychoacoustics, of this phenomenon are intriguing and worth investigating. Why do strings ringing at the second fret with a capo placed behind the fret sound more openly ringing versus a situation where the fingers replace the capo? Also, I must note that there are more pragmatic logics for the preference for the G and the C shape, one of these being that in the first position on the first three frets these shapes offer a greater expanse starting on the low root on the 6th or 5th string compared to the A and the D shapes and those expanses end on the more definitive scale tones on the 1st string in the first position—the second octave in G and the 5th in C. Comparatively the A ends on the 6th or the flat 7th note and the D on the 3rd or the 4th. Traditional folk guitar players, of course, were loath to shifting fretting hand positions.

The chordal transcription of “Angel” is thus based in my best guess depending on the way the acoustic guitar notes sound and resonate and assumes either a capo placed at the first fret or perhaps a speeding up of the recording during playback and an upward transposition of pitch by a half step. There appear to be two tonal centers for the intro and the verse/refrain sections and the bridge modulates to a third one. An examination of the verse best explains the derivation of the chords of the intro and verse. The verse starts with a iii-I progression in D but then modulates and features a IV-I progression in G; the clear resolution of tension first on the Dmaj and then Gmaj establishes the tonal centers. The second repeat of the refrain “all the people that I know,” moves into the bridge on the line, “they don’t know where they’re going to, exactly what they’re gonna do” with a IV-I-IV-I-IV-V progression in F major, which shares the relative key of D minor that is the parallel minor of the first tonal center.

Now, popular composers in the rock era have not always been restricted by tonal harmonic theory in their shifts within a song. In a way this trend could be viewed as paralleling the *superficial* juxtapositions that Robert Morgan had bemoaned in twentieth-century Western art music. There would be no specific reason for interpreting the modulation to F in terms of the relation to D minor and the relationship of that to the original D major key of the chord if the juxtapositions of parallel major and minor were not a common gesture in music within the Anglo-American folk-pop continuum. We encountered it in a simpler form in “Cattle in the Cane” and we will encounter similar moves in Kate Wolf’s music. One of my assertions here definitely is that the move to the parallel minor has an atmospheric juxtapositional aura about it, even if that chord is never played, as is the case here. The second is that this change in the quality of spatiality, even if the change in “Angel” is from a major chord (the I of G) to another major chord (B-flat

major, or the IV of F), has a similar flavor and is typically announced in pastoral-minded recordings by spatial gestures such as the scrape-strum. Craig Fuller uses it on both the B flat and the F major chords to draw attention to the shift.

Further proof of the effectiveness of parallel minors in generating a heightened sense of contrasting atmospheres and corresponding moods comes from the recordings of Gordon Lightfoot, with whose music I started the first chapter, and Kate Wolf, whose Western spatial journeys form the subject of the last chapter. The Canadian celebrant of spaces uses the parallel minor to strong effect in a number of his pastoral spatial compositions including “Peaceful Waters,” “Softly,” and “Beautiful.” Kate Wolf uses it in “Friend of Mine,” “Leggett Serenade,” and “Seashore Mountain Lady.” The duration of the switch to parallel minor can vary significantly, with the most extensive use among these examples can be found in Lightfoot’s “Beautiful.”

Intro:	/Amaj7(I) /	/Fmaj7(bVI)/	/ X 2			
Section A:	/Amaj7(I) /	/Am7(i) /	/			
	/Dmaj7(IV)/	/Dmin7(V)/	/			
	/Amaj7(I) /	/Am7(i) /	/			
Section B:	/Dmaj7(IV)/	/Dmin7(iv)/	/			
	/Amaj7(I) /	/Fmaj7(bVI)/	/			
Section C:	/Dmaj7(IV)/	/Amaj7(I) /	/			
	/D/A(IV) /	/E7sus4(V7)/	/	/	/	
	/Amaj7(I) /	/Fmaj7(bVI)/	/			
	/Amaj7(I) /	/Fmaj7(bVI)/	/			

Fig. 3.12: “Beautiful” by Gordon Lightfoot. (Key: A major, with respect to capo) (capo 3). Recorded on *Don Quixote* (Reprise, 1972).

"Beautiful," perhaps the single most striking and exquisitely atmospheric song in a so-called folk-based popular music canon, acquires almost its whole sense of suspended atmosphere from the continuous juxtaposition of borrowed chords from the parallel minor mode. It also sets up multiple parallelisms in the switches from the parent scale chords and the parallel minor scale derived chords. Thus the musical unit of two measures of Imaj7 followed by its parallel minor equivalent i7 is mirrored a fourth above by the IVmaj7 are iv7. It is also paralleled musically by the switch in the intro between Imaj7 and bVImaj7, the latter borrowed from the parallel minor mode and differing from the i7 in just one note. Because it balances the parallel modes with units of four measures equally split down the middle between chords from each, "Beautiful" does not sport just a single atmospheric episode that is more common in folk-based popular music. Rather both switches, to the major and to the minor, are equally striking. And both are equally emphasized by musical and playing techniques. The bass plays the 16^{th}-note &a on offbeat of the 4^{th} beat of the measure preceding the change almost as a stutter and is followed by the scrape-strum on the acoustic guitar on the beat 1 of the changing chord.

In most other aforelisted songs, the switch to the parallel minor is one of the striking spatial events, especially as the change is typically transient. Still, the event needs to be announced and enhanced by vocal, instrumental, and recording technique for full exploitation. Lightfoot's "Softly" and Kate Wolf's "Friend of Mine" employ the iv chord for a measure each following the IV. Yet, in "Softly" the event goes almost unheralded while Wolf's rcording fully emphasizes the contrasting mood and spatiality of the borrowed chord. As noted with diatonic minor chords, the frequency of notes decreases on the iv minor also. The vocal melodic motion stops on the 1st downbeat of

the iv but the notes are held out until beat 3, slowly decreasing in volume and thus appearing to move a little away from the foreground. The upright bass and the left channel acoustic guitar also stop on the same 1st downbeat leaving a sense of hanging space, now only filled by the two decaying voices and the right channel acoustic guitar which plays a fingerpicked arpeggio and through louder and snappier picking seems to move into the right foreground. Not only is the stark contrast in the density of the texture effective in drawing attention to the distinctiveness and outsideness of the chosen chord (and its arpeggio, which suspends on beat 4 on Eb or the b6 note), the sparseness allows the subtle hanging reverb add to the feeling of suspension created by the vocal melody that was holding out the G note until beat 4. Nina Gerber, the second guitarist likely playing that part, next plays the languorous scrape-strum when the melody suspends again, two measures later, on the diatonic vi chord.

Another common borrowed chord derived from the parallel minor scale is the bVI, which is used to delectable spatial effect on Kate Wolf's verbal and sonic paintings of the California West on "Seashore Mountain Lady" (from *Safe at Anchor*, 1979) and "Leggett Serenade" (from *Close to You*, 1980). "Seashore Mountain Lady" boasts a progression very unexpected of a so-called folk-based idiom. The progression features at least two unexpected modulations, with one proceeding through the minor to its parallel major. Such twists and complex harmonic and spatial juxtapositions are very atypical of the early compositions of Kate Wolf; the only three occasions she deviated from the three major diatonic chords in the six songs she wrote in her first year as a songwriter, 1971, were when she employed a diatonic minor chord (the ii in "North Main Street" and the vi in "Rolling Sea of Time") or a borrowed dominant (II or V7/V, although without the seventh degree). Yet, in live performance she reportedly brought "Seashore Mountain

Lady" and other such complex structured songs to her band without any ado or prior announcement, which makes it clear that most of her cohort of post countercultural urban folkies were quite familiar with such structures and could anticipate the changes, no matter how dramatic. In the studio, however, this song and the album on which it appeared marked the start of a very deliberately spatial and studio conscious music by Kate Wolf and her new collaborators, especially Bill Griffin, who very deliberately arranged and produced the expansive sounds of *Safe at Anchor* and Wolf's next two studio albums, and Nina Gerber, a young multi-instrumentalist who developed an ear and facility for coming up with sensitive and apposite parts on the spot. Here I only wished to point out the use of the parallel minor (E minor) before the song modulates from the D major key of the first half of the intro and the chorus to the E major of the verse. Perhaps the single most important aspect to notice in the use of this or other harmonic moves unexpected in folk traditions but not so much in urban harmonic traditions is that these moves are almost never used only as passing modulatory changes. In fact, their outsideness and contrasting spatialities and atmospheres are savored and lingered upon. Melodies pause and listen back to the reverb and other oscillations and aftersounds, scrape-strums and chimes seem to move sound sources through the spaces suggested by the former.[37] On "Seashore Mountain Lady" it is chimes played on a mandocaster (an instrument of Bill Griffin's own device) that announce the Em (i) and C (bVI) chords. But as Bill Griffin points out, most such gestures were in response to something that the lyrics suggest or demand. I ventured "word painting" for the process but Griffin's description was "cartooning."[38] Here it follows such evocative lyrics as "long hair

[37] The underlying mechanisms behind such apparent movement in space are discussed under the rubrics of timbre and aftersound below.
[38] Bill griffin, interview by the author, May 23, 2009.

blowing free" (on bVI), "with her haunted eyes" (on Em or i of the parallel minor), and "turned toward the sea" (on bVI).

"Leggett Serenade," on the subsequent album, *Close to You*, contrastingly is a song that features fewer unexpected harmonic juxtapositions. That does make the harmonic borrowing of the bVI the most distinctive suspended spatiality in the song. The recording of the song, however, establishes the spatial agenda without recourse to striking harmonic moves. After the switch to the more professional indie label Kaleidoscope and the wider success of Kate Wolf's third album, *Safe at Anchor*, thanks also in part to the considered studio sonic crafting that moved the music from basic live folk closer to adult contemporary and soft rock categories, the involved actors all moved toward upping the ante on the follow up *Close to You*. It was the only Wolf album where a dedicated drummer and percussionist was used; the hiree, Tom Lackner, also focuses more on textural and spatial effects wit simmering metallic percussion and less on mere timekeeping. Gerber also brought in a phaser pedal[39] to use on an electric guitar, an instrument she had just acquired.

[39] Phasing effects are discussed later alongside the Leslie rotating speaker cabinet under the rubric aftersound.

Intro:

Phrase 1: (In D) /G(IV) / /D(I) / /

/G(IV) / /D(I) / /

Phrase 2: (modulation):

(in Em): /Em / /C(bVI)/ /

(in E): /B7(V) / /E(I) / /

Verse and Refrain:

Phrase 1: (In E): /E(I) / /B7(V) / /

/E(I) / /B7(V) / /

Phrase 2: (In E): /C#m(vi)/ /A(IV) / /

(modulation): /Bm(?) / /

(In F#): /C#7(V) / /F#(I) / /

Chorus: Same progression as the intro

Fig 3.13: Chord structure of "Seashore Mountain Lady" (Key: E major, with respect to capo) (capo 1), recorded on *Safe at Anchor* (Kaleidoscope, 1979).

As I admitted earlier, my journey into formal musical analysis, at any level, started late in life. For most of my musical life, I just made mental notes of the sonic and musical effects and their affective impact. It was in the early 1990s that I entered the current phase of major enamorment with country rock music. My acquisition in 1994 of my uncle Subhash's record player was instrumental in the process, as now, every Saturday and Sunday morning, I could run down to lawn sales in New Delhi's diplomatic enclave to find records in styles of music not available in India, even in the underground market—country rock was one such hardcore Americana genre not particularly cherished

by sophisticated Westernized Indians raised more on British and European versions of rock. The first lot of eight records I picked up at such a sale in May 1994 included Pure Prairie League's eponymous first album from 1972, which featured a song with a harmonic change I have continued to consider one of the most striking in my listening experience. "Harmony Song," a Craig Fuller composition like "Angel" and most of the material on the group's first two albums, in its second repeat of the refrain during the chorus moves to an unexpected chord that seems to suspend the vocals in space for two measures where they just float until resolved through the IVmaj7 to the tonic. Now, equipped with passable theoretical knowledge and slightly better trained ears and a guitar, I have discovered that that chord with the suspended atmosphere is the bVI. Perhaps that should not be so surprising. The other song that stood out most, "Country Song," also featured an almost equally striking chord change—a switch to the bIII, as I recently discovered. Both chords are borrowed from the parallel minor.

Even one of the most atmospheric recordings by the L.A. acid rock group the Doors, "The Crystal Ship," I recently realized, achieves its striking switch in atmosphere through very similar harmonic and accompanying technical maneuvers. The thirteen-measure verses feature a four-measure vocal accompaniment section in the key of Fm (Fm-Cm7-Bb-Gb or i-v-IV-bII), followed by a five-measure vocal accompaniment section in F (F-Bb-C-F/Eb-F/Eb or I-IV-V/IV-V/IV),[40] and a four-measure instrumental turnaround in F (F/Db-Ab/Eb-C-C or V/IV-bVI/bIII-I-I). The F major sections (the last nine bars of the verse) have a dense texture and feature loud emphatic eighth-note playing on the electric guitar and piano with a gently marching drum beat. It is the return to the subsequent verse's F minor that exploits the difference in atmosphere. The beginning of

the second verse, “the days are bright and filled with pain, enclose me in your gentle rain,” projects a sense of languorous resignation with an expectant, wistful suspension in a spatial void. The succeeding parallel major clarifies that the singer does dream of a time when he hopes to be reunited with his lover (“we’ll meet again, we’ll meet again”). The effect of suspension at the start of each verse is achieved not only through a harmonic return to the parallel minor, but also through a lazy hanging on to each note, both in the vocal melody and the electric guitar and piano parts. In addition, much like discussed above with regard to the guitaristic and arrangement approaches to “Blackberry Blossom,” playing and recording technique over the minor section opens up a big spatial void in the middle in the tonal and the affective space. The keyboard bass part is the only part charting the bottom end of the tonal space in the minor section. Other instruments play in the higher part of the timbral spectrum. The drum kit only features sizzling cymbal work in this part, with the mid-and-low-range percussion (bass and snare) reserved for the gently marching and texturally dense major section when most musical activity, other than a high-pitched and timbrally bristling organ part, becomes concentrated in the middle range of the tonal spectrum. Flatpick guitar technique alone had accomplished similar timbral work in “Blackberry Blossom.” The electric guitar in the minor section of “The Crystal Ship” plays its parts in the higher part of its register starting at the 13th-fret F chord shape and on the second verse the piano also starts in a similar register. In addition, the piano here takes over the role of playing a move simulating the guitar’s high frequency scrape-strum, playing the Fm and Cm7 chords in rolling arpeggios that feature what are roughly thirty-second notes with two preceding (as pickup notes) the downbeat of each measure and the next two or three notes trickling

[40] Wherever a slash appears in a chord progression in the text it is not to designate “slash chords,” i.e. chords with the lowest note being other than the root and appearing as the denominator, but rather implies

down in a ritardando to cover the rest of the arpeggio from low to high; the chord is then held out for the remaining three beats of the measure. Thus, the piano, like the slow guitaristic scrape-strum, charts a higher area of the timbral space (lending a sense of nearness and elevation to its apparent position[41]) and features a similarly languid execution (capturing a mood typical of countercultural spatial excursions in sound). Thus, tonally, timbrally, texturally, and in terms of note frequency (per minute or measure), the parallel minor sections and their treatment contrast with the major key sections. Compositionally and poetically, each move has a clear justification that also resonates across closely and not-so-closely related vernacular music idioms, all of which did converge in countercultural music and recoding.

While this section is focused on elaborating harmonic moves that lend a musical spatial sense to folk- and pop-based musical amalgams that first emerged during the countercultural era, a secondary focus is on accompanying moves that draw attention to and further enhance the spatialities inherent in the harmonic moves. While such technical moves and technology that abets them and helps in their capture should properly be addressed under their specific sections, as outlined in the taxonomical chart provided at the beginning of the chapter, I find it difficult to divorce their analysis from that of the harmonic changes they typically accompany. Thus, in later sections, under their proper taxonomical category I might only allude to such moves or consider their aspects that belong under that category, referring the reader back to an earlier section for elaboration of other aspects. The timbral aspects of the scrape-strum, therefore, are discussed below under the next category.

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that the measure features a switch, typically mid-way, between the two chords separated by the slash.

[41] How such apparent positioning is achieved is discussed below in the section on timbre.

SPATIAL ALLUSIONS, SONIC: ACOUSTIC ASPECTS

Timbre

Cornelia Fales avers that timbre is largely received by the listener as a gestalt. While it has strong affective power, timbre functions preattentively, at the level of phenomenal and not of reflective consciousness (Fales 2002: 59). Fales has documented a number of timbral manipulative techniques in various musical traditions where constituent aspects of the timbral gestalt split from it to form breakaway factions that enter a more reflective level of consciousness and have a musical effect. While different musics employ different typologies of techniques that can be classified under the rubrics *timbral anomaly by extraction*, *timbral anomaly by redistribution*, and *timbre juxtaposition*, the final effect is one of some partials, which theretofore had only contributed to the overall color of the instrumental or vocal timbral gestalt (referred to in common parlance as the "tone" of an instrument or voice), being made to stand out from the timbral whole and be perceived as a separate *pitched* musical element (Fales 2002: 65-78). My focus in this project, however, is on techniques that use such manipulation, largely I believe by *timbral anomaly by extraction*, to bring some of the constitutive partials closer to the listener's conscious attention but mostly for an acoustic space-invoking result and not a pitched musical effect. A typology of such moves would include the *scrape-strum* or *rake* discussed earlier, the *pop* or the *snap*, the *chime*, and the *scratchy glide* (prominent sound of the fingers sliding along the strings, especially on acoustic guitars mixed with bright equalization curves, a move that is hardly discussed or named in common musicians' vernacular but often featured prominently on recordings

starting with the countercultural era).[42] Common to all these techniques is a relative increase in the amplitudes of the high-frequency partials vis-à-vis those of the fundamental frequency and the middle-frequency partials (whose amplitude decreases due to partial muting by one or both hands); this *relative* increase may also be accompanied by an *actual* increase in the amplitudes of the high frequency partials that is achieved through a stronger physical attack.

The *rake* and the *scrape-strum* are related techniques. I previously discussed the placement, especially of the latter, at specific harmonic junctures in songs that have an innate shift in spatiality and atmosphere waiting to be pointed out, with which these moves help. I also alluded to Dan Crary's use of the former at such crucial junctures in his interpretation of "Cattle in the Cane." In this section, I will now turn to the timbral aspects of these moves that contribute to their spatial function. Both involve scraping a plectrum, a thumbpick, or fingerpicks/nails, usually at an acute angle to the axis of the strings. The rake typically traverses three of four higher strings (usually in a closed chord shape wherein all the sounded strings are fretted), is executed faster, and is often followed by a normally ringing note on the highest of the strings involved. The scrape-strum, typically is executed more languidly and the notes are allowed to ring out, typically across six- or five-string chord shapes with some open strings. Depending upon the time available, the position of the picking hand, and the picking technique, whether flatpicking or fingerpicking, the scrape-strum can be executed from lower to higher strings or vice versa. There might be different and specific space-invoking incentives for the choice of the direction of execution too, and I will return to this shortly. The commonalities between these two moves are factors that raise the relative volume of the

[42] None of these are standardized terminologies, largely because they function mostly as loose argot in popular guitaristic and similar other circles where there is little specific concern with formal taxonomy.

high-frequency partials vis-à-vis the fundamental. These include obliquity of the plectrum or nail with respect to the strings, partial muting or dampening, and picking closer to the bridge of the guitar. Either the volume of the high-frequency partials is raised or that of the fundamental is reduced or both happen simultaneously. Now, typically, the timbral spectrum of any sound near its source of production has similarly relatively higher amplitudes of partials in its frequency spectrum than the same sound audited at increasing distances from the source. As frequencies at the ends of the spectrum require greater energy to traverse any medium and also greater amplitude than mid-range frequencies (1-5kHz) to be recognized as equally loud (this is the basis of "equal-loudness contours"), these higher-frequency partials are not characteristic of sounds audited at increasing distances from a source (Kefauver 1999: 15). Higher frequencies are also the first to be obstructed when there is any obstacle in the direct path between a sound source and an auditing organ. Again, the greater the distance between the two, the higher are the chances of some kind of intervening obstruction. Thus this is another factor that our perception expects presence of the highest frequencies only in sounds from a nearby source. Hence any sound that does have a timbral spectrum similar to that of sounds audited close to their productive sources—that is, a spectrum with *relatively* high amplitudes of high frequency partials vis-à-vis mid-range frequency fundamental and partials—even if that spectral configuration is achieved through manipulations that *often only alter* the *relative* amplitudes of partials and the fundamental, can recall acoustic world listening experiences of sounds that indeed were from a nearby source. As a human ear is seldom placed as close to the strings of an acoustic guitar as a microphone often is, it rarely ever captures the same sense of

nearness that a microphone can. Sensitive, at different levels of consciousness, to the possibility of manipulating the sense of distance in studio recording, where the visible presence of a performer at a visually assayable physical distance does not continuously abut on the listener's consciousness, musicians such as Tony Rice, David Grisman, Mike Auldridge, Bill Griffin, and Peter Siegel improvise subtly and timbrally, making judicious but liberal use of these and other sonic, and not necessarily melodic or harmonic, techniques when they switch from live to studio situations. Tony Rice's very first recording in 1974, *California Autumn* (Rebel), moved bluegrass into new territory not only stylistically but sonically. On the album, alongside straight live-in-the-studio traditional interpretations of uptempo bluegrass material ("Billy in the Low Ground," "Bugle Call Rag," "Beaumont Rag," "You Don't Know My Mind"), Rice and his cohorts including dobroist Auldridge interpreted the autumnal title song and instrumental versions of the minor key songs "Scarborough Fair" and Hank Williams' "Alone and Forsaken" in atmospheric and textural ways that inaugurated a new idiom, later called New Acoustic Music. Rice and Grisman and many others developed that studio-conscious acoustic genre over the next two decades returning to collaborating in 1994 on *Tone Poems* (Acoustic Disc), a veritable feast of the subtle deployment of the aforementioned acoustic sonic techniques especially chimes and scratchy glides along the strings. Grisman has continued that aesthetic in the *Tone Poems* series with British acoustic jazz guitarist Martin Taylor on *Tone Poems II*, and with Mike Auldridge and Bob Brozman on *Tone Poems III*, as also in the guiding philosophy of his record label Acoustic Disc. We have already referred to Craig Fuller's liberal use of these on *Bustin' Out* and we will encounter these again in Kate Wolf's recordings.

The *pop* or *snap* involves an exaggerated pluck and release of the string, which on striking the fingerboard produces a similar enhancement, in this case both relative and absolute, in the amplitude of the high-frequency partials. It is also used for functions other than spatial invocations, though. Country bluesmen often used the snap for percussive effect and for expanding the apparent tonal spectrum of their guitars. It is also idiomatic in the electric country guitar style called "chicken picking" and equivalent of which is also employed by some electric blues guitarists such as Albert Collins and Hubert Sumlin (as on "Rockin' Daddy" on the *London Howlin' Wolf Sessions*). From the 1980s onwards, with the hugely-influential innovations of guitarist Michael Hedges and slap-and-pop style funk-based bass guitarists (including Hedges' bassist Michael Manring), it also became idiomatic within modern acoustic guitar and electric bass guitar playing, as the counterpoint and foil to percussive lower-frequency moves such as the bass-string thump. Michael Hedges' music, of course, was explicitly fixated on spatial concerns, but as a guitarist most responsible for popularizing the use of such theretofore non-traditional fingerstyle techniques, his use of the snap is fairly liberal, although never injudicious. Hedges' use of these techniques functions at many levels at once, as he mostly recorded solo. But it was the nuanced appreciation of the possibilities of the acoustic guitar in the studio during the 1970s that had opened up further explorations by the likes of Hedges and his countless followers. In late countercultural pastoral music, however, the snap is typically used with even more reserve. For instance, on Michael Martin Murphey's "Boy from the Country," the snap works in tandem with a bright equalization curve, prominent fretting-hand position shifts (see *scratchy glide* below), and arpeggios moving outwards from lower to higher strings to establish a shimmering surface of the acoustic space, the depth of which is defined by a subtle but unmistakable

reverb on the vocal; an off-mic recording of the steel guitar that enter later clarifies the immenseness of the set up space.

I am using the term *scratchy glide* to refer to the prominent sound of fingers moving vertically along a string during shifts in fretting hand position. It's a sound that is rarely discernible in the din of live music situations or prominent when playing an acoustic instrument without amplification and one that musicians such as Murphey, Kate Wolf, and Nina Gerber have exploited in studio recordings using highly-sensitive microphones to establish a sense of palpable nearness of the acoustic-guitar-limned surface of the invoked narrative space. I cannot say exactly when in the 1960s folk-based guitarists and recordists started accepting the sound of the scratches that close miking with sensitive mikes captures and when they actually consciously started exploring its spatializing potentials. It was definitely not in evidence in the first half of the 1960s. In my listening experience, one of the most unprecedentedly crisply recorded and dynamic acoustic guitar recording of that era was Dylan's *Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (Columbia, 1963), with neither strum-along urban folk pop nor southern traditional guitar stylists such as John Hurt's or Doc Watson's contemporary albums beating the palpable presence Dylan's guitar had on that album. The sparseness of that recording contributes to the bristling presence the guitar seems to have. Yet Dylan is focused on the song and the guitar-playing's emphasis is on providing a dynamic counterpoint to the volume of the voice and the ebb and flow of the lyric. Muddy Waters' *The Folk Singer* (Chess, 1964) stands as an even more acoustically bristling recording from that period. Yet with all the haunting room reverb and the sizzling guitars of Waters and Buddy Guy, the space conjured is almost identical to the recording space—perhaps a dark, cold room in Chicago that the protagonist is leaving for his Delta home. Again, in my listening

experience, Jefferson Airplane's "Comin' Back to Me" from *Surrealistic Pillow* (RCA, 1967) is the earliest example of using acoustic guitars specifically for spatial limning function by exaggerating the crisp partials-heavy sounds, through a combination of technology and technique that exploits it. The first 36 seconds of the song do little else. Musically all that the two acoustic guitars panned to a channel each in the stereo spread do in that whole period is to play slow diatonic chordal arpeggios in the key of G major. The major musical interest comes from the hanging suspension created by repeatedly switching between the Dsus4 and C arpeggios and later Csus2 and C played on the 2nd through 4th strings in the C chordal shape against a droning G note on the third string, while avoiding the tonic chord as such. In unamplified live performance this introduction would hardly qualify as much of a musical composition. In the studio, however, it is a spatial sonic painting of exquisite and delicate beauty, because it is not the notes that are the content of the artistic enterprise here. Both guitars are mixed with a bright equalization curve with emphatic scratches while moving between positions. The left channel guitar also throws in judiciously placed languorous scrape-strums to make the guitar momentarily seem to move even closer to the listener. It then revels in the generated instrumental sustain, a component of the aftersound amplified and stretched by a looming reverb that charts out a background that suggests setting in a vast space. The flute then enters to define the middleground and Marty Balin's close-miked crooned vocal with crisp sibilants enters next to occupy the foreground. In fact, this combination of close-miked acoustic guitar and up-front vocals, a middleground flute, and a background whose depth is defined by varying degrees of reverb would become a standard musical-acoustic trope in rock and is also heard on Jethro Tull's songs such as

"Thick as a Brick," Moody Blues' "Voices in the Sky," and Led Zeppelin's "Stairway to Heaven."

The *chime* or harmonic refers to an amplification of a specific partial while the string is muted to almost silence the fundamental tone. This produces the most exaggerated apparent jump to surface of an instrument previously sensed to be at some distance. In studio-based country rock, country folk, and progressive bluegrass, in addition to the acoustic instruments that define the shimmering surface of the sonic space suggested on a recording, chimes are very often used on the genres' most typical background instruments, the pedal steel guitar and the resophonic steel guitar (also known as the dobro for the Dopyera Brothers' company that invented and popularized the instrument).

Mention of background instruments allows us to return to the question of depth that I posed earlier: how did the pedal steel move to the background? Timbre might be one rubric under which this might be considered although reverb and other spatializing factors contribute to apparent position of sound sources in the soundscape. At this point it might be useful to summarize the elements that foreground a sound source: (1) loudness: sound sources sound relatively louder when audited up close, and conversely louder sounds are interpreted as emanating from relatively nearby sources, (2) proportion of direct sound vis-à-vis reflected sound: the loudness of the direct sound for a near source overwhelms the relatively lesser volume of reflected sound (although the absolute volume of reflected sound will remain relatively unaltered for sound sources located in the same acoustic environment or container), and (3) relative amplitude of high-frequency partials—as higher frequencies require more energy to be projected across

increasing distance, they dissipate earlier and are not characteristic of sounds from distant sources.

The pedal steel guitar, when used in pastoral country rock, is not just in the sonic background but is also usually featured in a musical backup or accompaniment function. It usually insinuates itself into the mix quite subtly, moving from an inconspicuous entrance to a gentle presence. Relatively low volume is one factor responsible for this. The pedal steel guitar also is usually featured with a significant reverb. This is achieved by either placing the microphone at a significant distance from its amplifier speaker or by adding artificial reverb (whether by playing back the steel part in a reverb chamber and adding the replayed sound to the mix or by using an artificial reverb effect on the amplifier or through a pedal). That distance allows the recorded sound to have a higher proportion of reflected or room sound than direct or source sound, a ploy that captures a sense of ambient space. Listening experience in real life environments guides the ear in equating increasing proportion of reflected sound with increasingly distant sound source positions, even if the reverb effect is artificially applied. A third factor that makes the pedal steel a perfect instrument for suggesting depth is that its volume pedals allow complete control over attack, which can even be completely elided, much like with a string section recorded through a distant microphone. Distant miking might be employed to deemphasize the attack further. It is the attack phase of the sounding of a string that features the highest proportionate volume of high-frequency partials—a sharp attack thus produces a sense of nearness if the energy of the higher partials can be audited, or captured and reproduced. Usually, while close miked acoustic instruments such as the guitar and the mandolin establish the surface of the musical space in a country rock recording, the pedal steel, often in conjunction with strings and sometimes an electric

organ establish the sense of depth. A similar contrast in used on close miked lead vocals versus harmony vocals and all the three factors named above contribute to the sense of gradient distance that characterizes vocals, especially in the lush harmonies typical of soft country rock groups such as CSN, the Eagles, America, and Pure Prairie League.

Chimes played on the pedal steel in this scenario help the pedal steel traverse, and draw attention to, the distance between the superficial and the deep. As chimes are sounded, the heightened snappy attack of the harmonics seems to make the pedal steel guitar jump forth from the depths to the surface. As their amplitude decays, the sound of the chimed notes trails off into the seeming distance for the attack that made them jump to the surface is behind them. Added reverb, a standard effect on the pedal steel and also commonly used on the resophonic guitar in space-conscious studio genres, swells slowly to add to the sensation of the sound trailing off into the distance. Mike Auldridge, a master of the technique has deployed this technique with exceptional space-charting effectiveness of such recordings as Tony Rice's "California Autumn," "Alone and Forsaken," and "Scarborough Fair," (all on *California Autumn*), and on Kate Wolf's "Slender Thread," and "Carolina Pines" (both on *Poet's Heart*).

Psychoacousticians have been interested in the role of frequency spectra in localization of sound by the human ear at least since early twentieth century. Substantial scholarship has been dedicated to the subject but precise inferences remain contested. Thus, here I would like to summarize the ones that have a consensus of scholarly opinion and that also resonate with spatial moves deployed in music recording and reproduction. 3-D localization of sound sources needs to occur along three planes. Solid agreement has been reached regarding side-to-side localization along the *coronal plane*—intensity and time/phase differences between sounds arriving at the two ears are the most significant

cues in localization along this plane. With localization along the *horizontal plane* and *median sagittal plane* there is less consistent accord regarding exact processes and precise physical parameters such as frequency cutoffs and incidence angles. But some agreement has emerged regarding possible underlying processes.

In the *median sagittal plane*, in the absence of binaurally distinguishing spatial cues, localization of a sound source in terms of elevation seems to depend upon monaural spectral cues. Pure tones, or simple spectra where most of the energy is localized around the fundamental, are poorly localized by the human hearing mechanism. Complex spectra with high energy partial bands at greater frequencies appear to aid the localization process by the individual ear, the high frequencies containing the spectral spatial cues that apparently invite the ear to attempt to pin down a source for the sound—the accuracy of the process is variable, however. Past a certain, not-precisely-agreed-upon, threshold (perhaps a high-energy partials band centered around a frequency of 6 kHz or greater), the precision of localization of the elevation of the point source of a sound becomes quite reliable. Below that, an illusory correlation seems to exist—the greater the frequency around which the wide high-energy partials band is centered, the higher the *apparent* location of the sound source (Butler 1973: 255). This is likely one of the reasons for shimmering sounds and harmonics (or chimes) appearing to take off toward the heavens, despite no real change in the location of the instrumental source of the sounds on recordings.

The reliability of localization in terms of elevation along the median sagittal plane depends upon the presence of a high-frequency partials band that is wide, at least more than 1 kHz in width. Monaural localization in the horizontal plane also deteriorates if that band is a narrow one; the localization process in this plane still retains a reproducible

ordered pattern (Musicant and Butler 1985: 202). When the band is centered at frequencies between 4 and 8 kHz or between 13 and 14 kHz, it appears to originate from an actual source placed in front of the subject. When centered around 9 to 12 kHz, however, sound emerging from the same source appears to be originating from a lateral source. Similarly, less than optimum monaural spectral cues may lead to front-back ambiguities along the horizontal plane (Musicant and Butler 1985: 202).

Now, to what extent could countercultural-era recordists have been cognizant of the precise workings of these spectral cues when psychoacousticians, after a century of dedicated and ongoing investigation, are still trying to figure out the specifics? Not to any great extent, for sure. What appears to be of greatest interest here, still, is the conclusion that it is complex spectra with wide high-frequency partial bands that contain much of the localization cues for spatial hearing. They spur the human ear into a spatial game of attempting to localize sound sources. The struggle of the human ear in doing so only opens up tantalizing possibilities for conjecture regarding actual locations. This localizing imprecision of human spatial hearing helped recordists surmount the inability of two-channel stereos, the dominant consumer audio format of the era, in projecting material information along the horizontal and sagittal planes.

Reverb, echo, lush string sections and soft pedal steel guitars had already been widely used in recordings throughout the two decades preceding the countercultural era (Leydon 2001: 96-107). The single spatializing sonic attribute that distinguishes recordings from the latter period is the shimmering sizzle in the foreground. As there was no groundbreaking named technological innovation behind this palpable change—as there had been behind the advent of electronic recording, stereo, and multi-track recording—it has gone relatively unremarked in the history of music recording

technology, which of late has become a major field within popular music studies. Still, based on the recorded aural evidence, there can be no doubt that the sensitivity of the recording and playback equipment grew by quantum leaps during this period and that these innovations were broadly exploited across genres and were central to the audiophile revolution in consumer electronics that began in earnest during the same period. Ten-plus band, dual channel graphic equalizers and signal processors, controlling and enhancing the sizzle inscribed into the recordings, became staples of the middle-class parlor. While proprietary warfare led to quadraphonic sound's eventual failure in replacing the stereo, with the help of subtle and unsubtle recording manipulations of high-frequency spectral information, both through innovations in technology and through playing technique, the hi-fi stereo's actual success at creating a spatial envelope around the living-room-bound audiophile listener far exceeded its seemingly limited capacities to do so. With all the high-frequency information, the ear was seduced into playing the game of spatial localizing, in the process also being drawn toward listening for space in place of just tonal information that is the traditional object of tonal music. With the wide array of continuously changing high frequency sounds—from tinkling Fender Rhodes electric pianos, to glockenspiels and celestas, to an arsenal of other percussion instruments (especially metallic ones), to vocal sibilants and crackles, to acoustic guitar string snaps and scratches on metallic strings—which characterized music extending from the Afro-rock of Osibisa, the avant-garde jazz of Pharoah Sanders, the cosmic funk of Sanders' erstwhile compatriot Lonnie Liston Smith, the pastoral jazz of ECM artists, the country rock of Pure Prairie League, the progressive country of Michael Martin Murphey, and the country folk of Kate Wolf, and the New Age of Windham Hill artists such as Michael

Hedges, the ear was tantalized with information it had to attempt to locate somehow, whether precisely or imprecisely, consciously or subconsciously.

There are a number of ways in which timbral spectra play a spatial localization game with human hearing, and this dissertation is just a preliminary invitation to start examining them in earnest. As noted above, at certain frequencies the ear can be fooled in the localization of a sound source along the horizontal plane, being deceived into believing that a sound actually issuing from the speakers in front is momentarily issuing from a lateral of posterior musical source. As the energy level in a particular ear-deceiving high-energy partials band dissipates and drops below a cognition threshold, the greater residual energy in lower frequency fundamental and partials area of the spectrum returns the apparent position of the sound source to its original actual placement in front of the listener. Similarly, sounds with high-frequency partials bands of a certain width and frequency tend to appear to issue from higher positions along the median sagittal plane than the actual location of the generative sound source. Musicians can generate such ear-confounding spectra through development and deployment of certain techniques that can be employed at specific junctures, often for word painting. The aforementioned techniques of the scrape-strum or the rake, the snap or the pop, the scratch glide, and the chime are some that are consistently applied by steel-string instrumentalists toward that end.

Many other historically popular instruments are characterized by high-end timbral spectra that typically feature such ear-spurring information. The glockenspiel and its keyboard counterpart, the celesta, were two common ones used for generating angelic floating tones historically as also during the countercultural era.[43] New synthesizer

[43] Zak (2001: 67) notes its dual timbral function on Bruce Springsteen's "Born to Run":

instruments, especially the Fender Rhodes electric piano, joined and surpassed those traditional instruments in that role during the latter period. Metallic percussion instruments (idiophones) such as cymbals, hand cymbals, triangles and many others, long used in symphony orchestras, also became standard part of drummers' and percussionists' ensembles during this phase, first in the studio, and then on stage as musicians attempted to recreate in live performance spatial vistas their albums had painstakingly erected. These percussive arsenals are very much in evidence in the nuanced stage performance of spaces in the shows of countercultural musicians who continued with their music into the 1990s and beyond and are documented on such video recordings as Jackson Browne's *Going Home* (Elektra/Asylum, 1996), John Denver's *The Wildlife Concert* (Sony, 1995) and Loggins and Messina's *Sittin' in Again* (Rhino/WEA, 2005). All of the aforementioned videos capture stage shows where an additional percussionist was recruited by the artist primarily to handle duties other than timekeeping. Of course, during the countercultural era, Pharoah Sanders', Lonnie Liston Smith's, Santana's, and Marion Brown's pastorals were also heavily reliant on a whole tinkling armory of percussion instruments used to chart out the moving boundaries of constantly-morphing spaces. Despite this, there has been limited scholarly attention paid to the spatial functionings and psychoacoustics of such widely deployed instruments, whether in live or recorded music. So, I believe at least a few preliminary comments are in order here, although other investigators are invited to further explore some of these tantalizing directions I can only attempt to broach.

Not all of us are percussionists, but have you ever considered the sound of a hand bell you may ring at an unattended desk in say a library or an office and wait for an

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(1) physical/orchestral function: to add high frequency information to help melodies stand out from the thick texture, and (2) rhetorical function: to refer to historical "cool" sounds, in this case Phil Spector's use

attendant to emerge from the woodwork to help you? I did precisely that at the library at which I have been working part-time and was struck by some intriguing aspects of the temporal unfolding of sound, which overlapped with what I had been hearing for long in musical use of metallic percussion instruments on records. As soon as the clapper hits the body of the bell, a clear sound seems to emerge from a point source, exactly the one seen by the eyes as a hand bell. But almost immediately that sharp localized loud sound dissipates into a vague ringing sensation, initially seeming to have some, albeit diffuse, physical source and then persisting as just "a ringing in the ears." Now because one has seen and personally struck the bell, one does not question the source of the sound nor is one particularly intrigued by its shifting acoustic aspects. On a recording, however, there is no visual counterpart to pin down reality and make it a taken-for-granted mundanity. And because metallic idiophones and their electronic simulators have the most tantalizing spatial information in their timbral spectra, one can understand why they might have become increasingly integral to the spatializing projects of countercultural music across many genres.

In the above example of the hand bell, the intermediate stage where there still appeared to be a diffuse but physical source of the sound, room reverb contributed significantly to the audited sound. I conducted that impromptu experiment in a library with high ceilings and distant walls, which would have contributed to a longer-lasting and more distinct reverb. In a small office, the effect would be different. On space-conscious recordings, typically the reverb is more expansive sounding than that afforded even by the large hallway of a library and definitely more than what one would expect for the average-sized studio, the walls of which are usually rendered sound absorbent by various

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of Glockenspiel on his classic and dense "wall of sound" recordings.

methods. I have found significant and much more pronounced exploitation of this effect, i.e. the seeming spreading of sound from a struck metallic idiophone, with the use of the cymbals on Kate Wolf's "Leggett Serenade," and "Unfinished Life," and Michael Martin Murphey's "Rainbow Man," and "Circles of Life."

Now, desk hand bells are not cymbals nor are they used commonly in music.[44] Their acoustics are thus not likely to be considered in a text on musical percussion. But one can see that they have a shape in between that of domed cymbals and the conventional bell used in places of worship, on trains, or fire engines. Their mechanism of sounding and mode of vibration is way more limited than that of musical cymbals, which can be struck at any number of points, with a variety of mallets, and at highly variable intensities. Their vibrations are also often controlled by varying amount of dampening and excitement through repetitive variable intensity strokes. Cymbals also are made of bronze, which adds its own distinctive vibrational and timbral qualities, and they have a distinct shimmering quality that builds up much after the initial stroke, typically peaking between 1-4 secs (Rossing 2000:94). Percussionists also use multiple repeated strikes to enhance and prolong the shimmer. The shimmer also emerges not from the point of impact of the mallet but from the edges of the vibrating cymbal as the bending waves propagate outward circularly (Rossing 2000:92). The sound source physically spreads in space over the surface of the cymbal during the progression from the strike sound (<700 Hz, peaking at 1 ms), to the buildup of strong peaks (700-1000Hz) in the timbral spectrum (peaking at 10-20 ms), to the shimmer (3-5kHz; peaks at 30-50 ms, but is the most prominent component from 1-4 s), to the aftersound (in which low frequencies again dominate) (Rossing 2000:94). At the same time, as psychoacoustics

[44] Although the differently-constructed and –shaped musical hand bells are used in music. A discussion of their vibrational properties can be found in Rossing (2000: 146-153).

informed us earlier, the dominance of 3-5 kHz partials in the shimmer also puts it in the high-frequency zone where the ear is most likely to construe that energy as coming from a seemingly higher located sound source. Thus the sound source appears to migrate both laterally and upwards as a cymbal continues to vibrate. And these are just the sounds emanating from the body of the cymbal itself. Depending upon the actual studio surroundings or later playback and processing, reverb can add exponentially to this spreading quality of cymbal sounds. This effect can be heard in Michael Martin Murphey's "Rainbow Man" at and "Circles of Life" at . It can also be heard in Kate Wolf's "Unfinished Life" at 1:00.

The role of timbral microcomponents in the effectiveness and affectiveness of music is far less understood than that of timbral gestalt and it is the former area of possible exploration that holds forth the greatest promise of treasures untold. Still, timbral gestalt also contributes significantly to the space-invoking project of music. As mentioned earlier, in traditional art music literature and pedagogy, the relationship of certain timbres with specific moods and times of day has been recognized. Now, is it through practice and training that these associations have become concretized in the minds of composers and listeners alike and acquired their affective power? Or are physical acoustic parameters significant even in the referential capacity of timbral gestalts (or characteristic "tones")?

The former mechanism of historical accretion of associations is definitely a factor. R. Murray Schaefer divides sounds associated with natural and populated spaces into four categories, each of which has yielded referents to which various musical gestures have alluded:

- Keynote sounds: These constitute the background sounds in a given environment and include the sounds of the wind, water, birds etc. Examples abound both of the use of actual recordings of each or a sonic/musical emulation of such keynote sounds. For instance of ocean sounds, listen to Loggins & Messina's "Sailing the Wind," and for their guitaristic emulation, listen to Tom Rush's "Rockport Sunday." For examples of instrumental emulation of wind sounds, listen to Kate Wolf's "Unfinished Life" or even Robert Johnson's "Crossroads." For instances of bird sounds, listen to Pink Floyd's "Cirrus Minor," or for guitaristic emulation of the same, check out Lynyrd Skynyrd's "Free Bird," and Tom Rush's "Rockport Sunday."
- Signal sounds: These are foreground or figure sounds, such as those of church bells, whistles, horns, sirens, each specific to a certain humanly populated space. In the suggestion of America's southern spaces, for instance, the emulation of a train whistle is a standard trope that runs through songs by Leadbelly ("Rock Island Line"), to Bukka White ("Panama Unlimited"), to John Starling ("Trains Make Me Lonesome"). Of course, in musical emulation of or allusion to sounds associated with specific spaces, timbral emulation is only one aspect of the simulation. Starling, on the recording of the aforementioned song on Mike Auldridge's *Treasures Untold*, for instance, tries to capture vocally the timbre, the apparent pitch modulations, and the volume swells of a train whistle.
- Soundmarks: also figure sounds, soundmarks are specific to only one place, such as the sound of London's Big Ben (to the extent it is recognizable timbrally as different from other clocks). This degree of specificity means soundmarks have limited use in allusive music, though.

- Archetypal sounds: These are man-made sonic archetypes, that almost invariably evoke certain associations as a result of a long history of associative training. Schaefer describes them as, "mysterious ancient sounds, often possessing felicitous symbolism, which we have inherited from remote antiquity or prehistory" (Schaefer 1977: 9). Shepherd's woodwinds (panpipes, whistle, flute) constitute the best example, and echo down through history from Virgil's *Eclogues*, in which Pan taught the shepherd to converse with the environment (Schaefer 1977: 44), to their similar use by Rahsaan Roland Kirk and Ian Anderson in "Serenade to a Cuckoo," to the oboes and English horn in Berlioz's *Symphony Fantastique*, 3rd M., to the use of the latter instruments in Loggins and Messina's "Sailing the Wind," and "House at Pooh Corner" and most works by folk-jazz groups The Paul Winter Consort and Oregon. These uses of specific timbral gestalt types to allude to specific human-made associations, conform to Zak's category of rhetorical/symbolic aspects of timbre (Zak 2001: 67), which owe more to timbral gestalt, and are distinguishable from physical or orchestral aspects of timbre, which owe more to its spectral constitution.

Still, are the ostensibly gestalt-based functions of timbre free of influence from spectral microcomponent determinants? Research that has attempted to relate acoustic aspects of various instrumental timbres (that is, aspects based in their physical spectral constitution) with their psychoacoustic impact (that is, their holistic assessment by listeners) is useful here. McAdams and Cunible (1992) have employed multidimensional scaling (MDS) techniques to demonstrate how even without specific training, listeners discern as similar or identical acoustic and synthetic instrumental timbres that have similar timbral characteristics at the microcomponent level. Plotting three-dimensionally the following

characteristics of timbre, (1) onset characteristics or "attack quality" (i.e. change over time in the energies in different frequency zones of the timbral spectrum immediately following the attack) along X axis, (2) degree of change in spectral distribution over the duration of the tone or "spectral flux" along Y axis, and (3) spectral energy distribution or "brightness" (i.e. relative energies of the fundamental and partials at different frequency levels) along Z axis, researchers have found that the acoustic timbral spectral characteristics do place traditional pastoral instruments—the oboe, the cor anglais, and the clarinet—quite closely in the 3-D plot.[45] Thus in acoustic "timbral space," these relatively similar-sounding and similarly-used instruments do indeed occupy close-by positions. In psychoacoustic experiments, researchers (Krumhansl 1989; McAdams and Cunible 1992) further found that even untrained listeners consistently drew close analogies between the sounds of these (and other timbrally similar) instruments. Thus, if a relatively untrained listener mistakes a clarinet for a soprano saxophone or an English Horn for an oboe, or vice versa, behind those perceptual analogies lie actual physical realities. In this case, those physical aspects fall within the realm of the overarching category of timbre; yet, much of the action actually takes place at the level of timbral microcomponents, which now, with spectrographic techniques, are amenable to analysis. Such acoustic and psychoacoustic principles might explain how the repertoire of pastoral woodwinds has evolved from Pan's pipes and the shepherd's flute to include the aforementioned woodwinds. Relating acoustics to psychoacoustic perception, in this case, offers insight into more far-ranging effectiveness of timbral maneuvers with less trained audiences than of pitch manipulations.

[45] None of the researchers actually focused on woodwinds associated with pastoral evocations. Rather, I have chosen to focus on these instrumental timbres from among the wide variety of sounds used by the

“It’s Still Ringing!”: Aftersound

Surely everyone remembers Nigel Tufnel in *This is Spinal Tap* admonishing his interviewer for interrupting his guitar which to his sensitive sensibilities was “still ringing.” The effects discussed in the previous section involve aspects both of the timbral spectrum and of a group of phenomena best grouped together under an inclusive category for which the best term I can think of is aftersound, although resonance might also encompass the phenomena included thereunder. This category encompasses (i) continued vibration of the instrumental corpus, which may or may not have a resonance-enhancing device such as a resonator on resophonic guitars and some banjos or resonance chambers on hollow-body and/or –neck instruments, and (ii) reverberation (or simulation thereof) of the air or other media between the sound source and the auditing device (an ear or a microphone). Echo properly belongs in the latter category as a subcategory of re-verb-eration, i.e. repeat vibration. Psychoacoustically, the category “aftersound” would also include the phenomenon described in the dictionary definition of aftersound which limits the use of the term to a “continuing *sensation* [emphasis mine] of ringing in the ear after the cessation of the physical vibrations,” which might have been responsible for Tufnel’s impression; for a listener there can be no clear demarcation between the cessation of actual resonance but a continuing sensation of ringing in the ears.

Some scholars, Albin Zak for instance, treat echo as an effect entirely separate from reverb. Zak’s assessment is based on the mode of generation and (common) uses of echo as an effect on recordings and not on the acoustic phenomenon. He notes, “The word [echo] is used interchangeably with ambience or “reverb”—as in “echo chamber”—but the two are quite different in both nature and function,” and later, “echo, unlike

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studies mentioned here.

ambience, is not produced acoustically. Its creation and manipulation always involves some kind of machine." (Zak: 70-76). As regards how reverb and echo are produced in a studio, Zak might be correct. He is also focused on the many other functions of a discrete repeat of a sound, i.e. uses of what is technically equivalent to echo, to generate effects that do not have much resemblance to the natural phenomenon of echo. These need to be acknowledged here and include (a) *timbral effects* (flanging, phasing, and chorus), (b) *textural effects* (as in ADT or Automatic Double Tracking, wherein a repeated sound is imperceptibly removed temporally from the original sound and only appears to thicken the texture of the voice), and (c) *rhythmic effects* (as in the use of the tape-recorder-generated slap-back echo in the Sun rockabilly sides of Elvis Presley and Carl Perkins and the guitaristic vocabulary of U2's the Edge on songs such as "Where the Streets Have No Name" and Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers' Mike Campbell on "Don't Come Around Here No More"). Zak does mention "atmospheric" effects as the fourth category of uses of echo, nominally distinguishing it from the term he uses interchangeably with reverb—"ambience." In common parlance and assessment those two terms or the corresponding phenomena are not discriminated. The types of effects that Zak has in mind under this category also are not evocative of natural spaces but of what Doyle describes as disordered, non-realist spaces (Zak: 76-85, Doyle: 3).[46]

My focus, by contrast, is not on how echo is typically *generated* as an effect for use on recordings but on how the produced sounds are *used* to suggest non-studio, especially natural, spaces. In fact, it is echo that one is more likely to encounter among

[46] Doyle (2005) distinguishes between the realist sonic space-painting on songs such as Foy Willing and the Riders of the Purple Sage's "Blue Shadows on the Trail," which he likens to landscape art, and the non-realist spaces of songs such as Elvis Presley's "Mystery Train," which he likes to expressionist and cubist art. Zak's analysis (2001) of use of ambience in rock recordings is focused on the legacy of the latter in later rock recordings, such as those of Phil Collins and Peter Gabriel from the 1980s, wherein ambience

natural architecture, and Peter Doyle agrees with that conclusion in his analysis of the use of echo in the Western movies *Shane* and *High Sierra*, noting, "Echo is a product of the natural world—[of] monumental landforms." (Doyle 2005: 111). In "wide open spaces," comparatively, with the lack of a reflecting vertical surface or a contained body of air, there is no physical basis for an aftersound. But with so much pastoral music focused on mountainous landscapes, the use of echo definitely has a role in evoking such natural vistas with monumental vertical presences. Reverb, contrariwise, is more, but not exclusively, characteristic of man-made architectural spaces, although in older studio recordings from the 1950s through the 1970s it was "naturally" produced for inclusion on recordings.[47] In any case, there is limited correspondence between the actual physical acoustic characteristics of natural spaces and their representation in music. With regard to the highly echoic movie soundtracks with widely varying on-screen visual landscape counterparts—Ennio Morricone's spaghetti western soundtracks accompanying mountainous landscapes and Ry Cooder's soundtrack to the desertscapes of *Paris, Texas*—Doyle points out, that while echoicity is highly evocative "there was no one-on-one relationship between the effect and what was signified by its deployment. Echo and reverb made it seem as the music was coming from *a somewhere* [emphasis mine]—from inside an enclosed architectural or natural space or "out of" a specific location—and this 'somewhere' was often *semiotically highly volatile* [emphasis mine]." (Doyle 2005: 5)

A distinct echo is not as commonly employed as reverb in music evocative of natural spaces for generating a sense of either atmosphere or ambience, even if we do distinguish between the latter two categories or concepts. Elements of discrete repeats might, nonetheless, be cloaked in a more enveloping reverberance. In addition, other

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was used, as in Spector's work, in "fashioning a unique sound world set apart from our experience of acoustic reality." My focus is decidedly on the former category of realist landscape painting in sound.

gestures, whether compositional, technical, or technological might also mimic echoicity or evoke a generally reverberant scene. Tremolo, vibrato, and various other forms of effects featuring periodic oscillations, where the sound appears to swell repeatedly alternating with troughs that sound relatively silent, became widely used in countercultural music to suggest echoic or reverberant vast spaces, often through use in tandem with reverb and other effects. Leslie rotating speaker cabinet, a devise originally meant for use with the Hammond electric organ, which generated tremolo (periodic amplitude modulation), vibrato (periodic frequency modulation), as well as multimodality periodic modulations (such as those generated by the shifting out-of-phaseness of the sounds ensuing from the bigger lower speaker and the smaller horn speaker and the reverberations bouncing off the walls of the performance/recording space) became an effect widely deployed not only on keyboards but also on electric guitar and even voice (Henricksen 1981: 1; Hunter: 14).[48] The spatial suggestiveness of Leslie's swirling sounds, apparently coming not just "from a somewhere" but rather from everywhere, led to many evolutions and emulations to make the effect more portable, affordable, and widely applicable to instruments other than the organ. In later years, a Leslie simulation has become widely available in more portable analog and digital effect units, often as stomp boxes (Hunter:14-15). While the spacious effects generated through the use of a Leslie cabinet in mainstream rock tended to be on the "spacey" side of the spectrum, evokers of more natural spaces have also at times fiddled with more subtle effects based on the principle of periodic in-and-out-of-phaseness. Nina Gerber, for instance, used a phaser on Kate Wolf's "Leggett Serenade," a song that attempts to evoke

[47] Forests with a high canopy, however, may have reverberation characteristics of a cathedral (Schaefer:).
[48] The shifting degree of out-of-phaseness characterizing the sound of the original Leslie came from the fact that the rotating drum surrounding the 15" speaker spun in the opposite direction and at a different rate from the smaller top horn (Hunter: 14)

the redwood forests of the northern California town, and Michael Hedges confirmed that he regularly used a chorus pedal.

A prime example of various simulations of landscape echoicity is the song "Welcome Home" by the Afro-rock group Osibisa, one of the most successful early world music ensembles formed in 1969 by London-based expatriates from Ghana and the Caribbean. Like Pharoah Sanders, Lonnie Liston Smith, and Leon Thomas, exponents of so-called Afrocentric avant-garde jazz in the US, Osibisa were interested in creating a seductive pastoral Africa to which they invited themselves and their international audience—a welcoming bucolic haven far removed in time and space. On "Welcome Home," a whole battery of pastoral moves I have discussed in this dissertation comes together to work in tandem. After many auditions, I finally have to concede that the actual use of echo on the track is perhaps non-existent. Most musical gestures on the recording, in tandem with technological effects, however, suggest a huge echoicity. The Rhodes piano, a soft muted presence in the middleground and the center of the stereo mix, first suggests the echoic vista. When the electro-acoustic piano enters the mix, it only features what sounds like a reverb, as the aftersound does not have any discrete repeats. A beating become more prominent soon, although that might also be just the "oscillator" incorporated into all Rhodes pianos. Later, each sound on the instrument is repeated distinctly two times, but with sequentially decreasing volume. The repeats, however, are partly subsumed within the continuous aftersound heard from the outset, which envelopes them and continues after the discrete repeats. Although the repeats, especially with sequentially decreasing volume, suggest echoes, it is likely a rhythmic gesture actually played on the instrument; almost all instruments on the song, if fact, feature parallel gestures.

The song is in 6/8 time, and begins with two acoustic guitar images playing a Cmin_add2 arpeggio across the top three strings in the first position (likely out of the A min chord shape with a capo placed at the third fret); the guitar sound appears to move from left to right, and like on the recording of Michael Martin Murphey's "Rainbow Man,"it would be unlikely apparent to most listeners that there are two almost perfectly synchronized guitars, one in each channel, playing almost identical notes. The parts are not identical, though. The left channel guitar plays louder the notes on the 1& and the right channel guitar plays louder the notes on the 2& and 3&. Thus although the notes are changing throughout the arpeggiated figure, the overall impression is one of an echoic repeat on the right side of the sounds originating from the left of an apparent landscape. The percussion section's constituents are similarly panned across the breadth of the stereo space and their sounding again proceeds from left to right. Osibisa, like a number of other Afro-centric jazz rock and Latin rock groups of the period, was an extended fraternity featuring at least two percussionists. So it would not be surprising if the percussion duties were shared among them; the main introductory elements at this early point in the song, still, appear to come from the same drum kit with its individual constituents just panned widely in the stereo mix. The articulatory dynamics of these and the later entering instruments are progressively softer from the 1& to the 3&, with the apparent sound source on the three beats also moving in position from left to right, together generating a sense of the sounds on the 2& and 3& being echoes of the original sound.

Next, when the Rhodes electric piano enters it also plays triple rhythm figures with progressively softer dynamics on beats 2 and 3. At his point it is washed in a soft wash of aftersound and is playing in the low- to-middle part of its pitch range. A Rhodes has a softer attack than the acoustic piano, and together with the reverb its mid-range

contributes what Rebecca Leydon has called the “soft-focus” sound (Leydon 2001: 96). Along with the drums and the guitar, its progressively softer sound across the six half beats suggests ripples spreading outward from a point. This emulation of ripples or waves, or even the multiple wave-like fronts of a mirage, seems to me to be one of the commoner use of echo or echo-like effects in music. Peter Doyle finds this use in the simulation of waves on the Hawaiian seashore in music evoking those islands (Doyle 2005). I have found its use in Fred Neil’s recording of his “Dolphins.” Bruce Langhorne’s introductory theme music to the river scene in *The Hired Hand* also captures in sound the rippling surface of the water caught by sunlight reflecting off it; Langhorne, as discussed earlier (in Chapter Two), uses the resonance of the instrument and added room reverb (however generated) to mimic the wave-simulating effect of multiple echoes by exploiting the oscillation set up by the slightly out-of-tune harmonics of the root and fifth notes of a D scale.

On “Welcome Home” the Rhodes steps out of this role only at the end of the first phrase of the chorus, which is accompanied by the promise of the ultimate pastoral utopia, “come with me, on this happy trip back to that Promised Land, all will be happy and gay.” At that point, the Rhodes, noted for its glockenspiel and celesta like timbre, plays a figure that moves up the scale rapidly. The most interesting effect of this ascent is one we have discussed before—the apparent source of sound follows the pitches in the upward direction. While this is an effect I had always been cognizant of, and a significant observation that spurred this project four and a half years ago, as I repeatedly played back this phrase I was surprised by how definitive the apparent climb was; it kep unfailingly surprising me by its spectacular apparent climb no matter how many times I played it back. The explanation from psychoacoustics is detailed earlier under the section on

timbre—briefly I would like to recall here that the apparent elevation of a sound source in the median sagittal plane, especially in the 2-6 kHz range, seems to increase with an increase in frequency. The Rhodes plays similar quickly ascending figures following each phrase of the chorus. Later when the flute enters at 2:18, for what would be a solo in a live music context, it also features an effect that simulates elements of echo achieved through an actual deployment of a tape echo (or discrete delay image). Initially the flute stays strong on the right channel with a seemingly doppelganger duplicate image appearing on the other channel, most strongly on the 2nd and 3rd beats, which had featured the echo-like elements for other instruments too. At 2:50, the flute starts playing eighth notes instead of quarter notes, and the source on the right now leads with the note on the 1 followed by the left channel image playing the notes on the &2 (the motif repeats on 3 and &1 and so on). Like the two guitars on the intro, upon attentive hearing it becomes clear that again we actually have two flutes. Only the volume of each flute is varied in synchrony with the rhythm and in a responsorial fashion to the flute sounds on the other channel; even if the effect is not an echo per se, its effect is not dissimilar. The function of two flutes on the recording is not that of two instruments engaged in the call and response as one might expect in a live setting between two distinct solo instruments. The timbre of both the flutes is almost identical and they are played in the same breathy style by likely the same musician, Teddy Osei. What they represent on record seems to be a vast terrain marked by a chorus of resounding and welcoming presences. They may also recall the shepherd's archetypal woodwind instruments (panpipes, whistle, flute) in conversation with the environment, the right channel image representing the response from the environment and its living creatures (Schaefer 1977: 44-45).

Like Doyle, Rebecca Leydon does not attempt to artificially segregate the different categories of resonance, in fact choosing to use the same overall label for them as I have done here: aftersound. Leydon's concern in "The Soft Focus Sound: Reverb as a Gendered Attribute in Mid-Century Mood Music," is with all three categories of aftersound—resonance of the instrument, ambient reverb, and echo. She is concerned with the gendering of such effects as feminine, and thus their dismissal by true connoisseurs and audiophile as distortions and distractions from what they have historically deemed the real object of music—the notes and their syntax. Much like this dissertation, her aim is to direct critical attention to what happens around the historical, and hence male, concerns in Eurocentric music.

This has been a brief consideration of some of the spatializing uses of the various subcategories of aftersound. In Table 3.1, some manners of the utilization of aftersound actually appeared under categories other than aftersound. For instance, treatment of individual voices in the final mix with varying degrees of reverb was placed under considerations with regard to vocal harmonies. The role of the relative volumes of direct and reverberant sound in the apparent placement of an instrument in the mix was considered under timbral manipulations, which also contribute to such seeming placement. A more comprehensive taxonomical table, in which each multi-attribute manipulation is placed under each of the attributes manipulated (timbre, texture, aftersound, volume etc.) and each acoustic and musical category (e.g. vocal harmony, in the aforementioned case) being worked with, is certainly possible. The hope here has been of demonstrating that multiple musical and acoustic attributes are typically manipulated together for each spatializing move and that while the dynamics of each

attribute need to be interrogated, their relationship to simultaneous tweaking of other attributes needs to be examined too.

Texture

Texture, etymologically comes from *textura* or web. From there the root passes on to *texere*, to weave (a web). The word shares that root with textile. Texture represents the ensuing overall quality resulting from the relationships of the various constituent strands in a fabric, where all the strands are themselves identical, or a tapestry, where individual constituent strands and parts are distinctive. The latter is more akin to musical textures, the overall quality of a sonic piece resulting from the relationship of parts with varying degrees of likeness and unlikeness.

In historical musicology, texture is often reduced to the vertical relationship of voices represented on the page. The concern is often dominated by the harmonic relationships of pitched voices resulting in the textural designations—monophonic, homophonic, polyphonic, antiphonic, and heterophonic. As a composite with non-pitched sounds also weighed in, textures are graded according to density—thick or thin. But it is the original definition of the concept that might be instructional here. There are many other ways in which the individual components of a sonic work or recording relate to each other and all contribute to the overall sonic quality of the recording. Each relationship deserves the analyst's consideration as it did the recordists'. When the bare skeleton of some of the Beatles' classic recordings, canonical in their full fledged forms for three decades, emerged a decade ago on *The Beatles Anthology* series, they were barely recognizable as the same songs. Lyrics, melody, basic harmonic motion, and a rhythmic skeleton may make a copyrightable song, they do not a record make.

Composition on other levels often unfolds in the studio, as a team of recordists considers the potential ways of dressing that skeleton in ways that match or obscure its original identity. Most of these other levels could be subsumed under the larger category of overall sonic texture or, when received as a gestalt, as simply the sound of the record. Reception as a gestalt, however, does not diminish the psychological impact of individual components, even if the whole assumes its potency through the interaction of the parts.

A workable way of examining textural relationships might be to break them down into categories, much in the way I did at the start of the chapter for the whole gamut of potential spatializing moves in recorded music. In any given tradition, musical or analytic, the emphasis might shift between these categories, but one can be sure that when heard off a record, most do exist and are identifiable in any recorded music. For the sake of analysis, we can designate the following categories:

i. *Tonal relationships:* This is the category with which tonal music has been most concerned for over two centuries. Though texture in this sense is defined as the vertical relationship of multiple synchronic voices, only (a) *monophonic* and (b) *homophonic* textures are time independent. The categories of (c) *polyphonic* (in the limited sense of the word that means music featuring independent, equally strong lines), (d) *antiphonic* (call-and-response), and (e) *heterophonic* (simultaneous variation of one essential melodic line) are appreciated only as they unfold over time. These latter categories also share a narrative function with many other textural moves discussed below.

ii. *Sonic relationships (other than tonal):* among traditional musicology's categories, textural density (thin/sparse and thick/dense textures) falls under this broadest of categories. All other relationships of individual sounds, their

similarities and contrasts, their interactions and separation, their balance, especially as they lend the overall sound its dimensions, fall under this rubric. Relationships of varying apparent depth, side-to-side and front/rear placement in stereo/quad/or surround sound, and height of sound sources, that make the recording more than just pure pitches issuing from one point should all be considered.

iii. *Timbral constitution and apparent surface character of individual sounds:* Under this rubric we should concern ourselves of relationships of sonic components within what is ostensibly one sound. An analogy can be drawn with the texture of an individual cotton thread and its difference from that of a polyester thread. Spectrographs of the sound of different instruments or differently treated instruments, some with a single smooth high-partials band and some with raggedy partials peaks, immediately provide a visual counterpart of descriptors we typically ascribe to the "tone" textures of individual sound sources. That "tone" is just the gestalt of the work of the texture constituted by timbral microcomponents. Tone is well and widely appreciated aurally but usually described using visual and tactile textural metaphors, for instance, a molten lava-like guitar tone or scratchy abrasive whiskey-throated vocals.

iv. *Composition-sonic relationships:* This is the dynamic, responsive, diachronic, narrative aspect of texture. It is the more holistic time-lapse picture of the shifting relationships of sounds to each other and the aspects of the composition (words, melody, harmonic progression) across the whole recording of a piece. The traditional way of viewing such temporal aspects is

> as texture shifts from one type to another in different parts of the recording, but it is the whole that lends the entire sonic tapestry its specific identity and its relationship to other recordings. The traditional way of viewing texture as the vertical (and therefore atemporal) aspect of music also only looks at point of incidence of notated sounds, disregarding all the sonic events that follow during the development, sustainment, and decay—the aftersound.

CONCLUSION

In the taxonomical chart at the start of this chapter (table 3.1), I tried to break down spatializing moves into individual categories down to microlevels. In these subsequent sections, my attempt has been to reconnect and regroup many of those microlevels under larger rubrics that suggest the degree of overlap and synergy among those microlevels and their deployment. In such regroupings, some of my rubrics deviate from other scholars' designations. For instance, my subcategories reveal that I do not disagree with Albin Zak who posits categorical unlikeness between reverb and echo. My hope in this chapter has been to show that in actual usage in some musics, some of these categories might be continuous and partly overlapping, although I concede that in other musics the two might subserve entirely different functions. Thus, for instance, Zak is correct in pointing out that slap-back echo is produced by technological means and is an entirely different effect from reverb, which he describes as an element of natural behavior of sound. But the fact is that RCA engineers and producers could not appreciate that difference and Elvis's Nashville recordings used reverb in attempts to try to duplicate the tape-machine generated slap-back echo characterizing his Sun recordings (Doyle 2005).

Although engineers and producers in subsequent decades have become more knowledgeable about these technical aspects which were very novel in the early years of rock, in recordings from the 1970s one can still find many examples where echo's function is not clearly different from reverb's and some where the two work together, both being examples of aftersound. As discussed in the concluding paragraph on the section on aftersound, most manipulations of acoustic and musical attributes typically work in tandem to generate a dynamic sense of moving presences in sonically delineated spaces. Timbre might be the most interesting category to consider, for instance, when a rake apparently moves a resophonic guitar closer to the foreground or a chime moves it both closer and seemingly elevated, but reverb becomes an equally important category to consider in the instrument's subsequent move away from those transient apparent positions. Recognition of all the categories of spatial determinants, as discerning listeners and analysts, just serves to keep ears and our gray calls on their toes.

Chapter Four: West of the West[1]: Dreamers Weaving Kate Wolf's Pastoral Visions in Sound

As discussed earlier, in musical soundscapes, recordists may try to capture a sense of natural or unnatural spaces. Even with respect to natural spaces cast in sound, and partly because music is more capable of referrring to things outside of itself in a connotative rather than a denotative manner, room for fantasy abounds both within the inscription and the interpretation processes. The imprecision of the human ear's locating capacities also contributes to a fluidity of spatial communication. In late countercultural rural- or pastoral-influenced but studio-crafted musics, the emphasis was definitely on capturing in sound some sense of natural spaces. This emphasis extended through folk rock, country rock, progressive bluegrass, country folk, pastoral jazz, Afro-centric jazz, folk-jazz, and early New Age music.

Within North American and British music, especially, if a specific region most fascinated musicians it was the American West. And this fascination was not unprecedented. The countercultural era's take on the West, however, was definitely distinctive, although there was no singular unified vision. Many, even most, artists in country rock and quite a few in other aforementioned genres attempted at some point to capture the immenseness of the West in sound.[2] Country rock in fact was a genre born in

[1] California has often been referred to as West of the West. Dave Alvin, of the 1980s retro rockabilly band the Blasters, who has since become a major champion of Americana, in 2006 also released an album with that title on which he drew on the music and compositions of some of California's best songwriters who had previously attempted to capture the state's distinctive landscapes and atmospheres in words, music, and sound. Alongside Brian Wilson's "Surfer Girl," Merle Haggard's "Kern River," and John Stewart's "California Bloodlines," that album included Kate Wolf's "Here in California." Alvin was one of many Americana and country folk artists who became familiar with Wolf's music after her death. In 2000, he had contributed to the *Treasure Left Behind* anthology with a reading of Wolf's "These Times We're Living in," Regarding Wolf's poetry, Alvin had this to say in the liner notes, "I don't know much about Kate Wolf's life and loves, but in a few raw and tender lines, she sure knew a lot about mine." Alvin's homage to her (and her recordists') sound was articulated in his sound, rather than words.

[2] In pastoral jazz, take for example Keith Jarrett's recordings with Native American motifs on "Yaqui Indian Song" (Yaqui being residents of the Sonoran Desert), "Great Bird," "Sundance," and "De Drums."

the California West circa 1966, from where it expanded after 1968 to become a national popular music phenomenon.[3]

Kate Wolf, eventually very influential on the country folk and post-country rock Americana genres and especially on California-based exponents of those musics, mostly stood on the sidelines during the heyday of country rock. Wolf began emerging as a solo recording artist only in 1976, by when country rock and other country inflected urban styles had been edged out of the mainstream. As a married woman and mother of two, in the 1960s, Wolf performed rarely and reluctantly. It was the urging of friends who pushed her to sing at folk sings and festivals that encouraged her to take up singing seriously (Wolf and Salinas 1975). Eventually, Wolf would become the Earth poetess of the rolling hills of California's Bay Area wine country, with her fame and influence spreading significantly across the US in the two years before her untimely death at 42 of acute leukemia. Since her passing on in 1986, Wolf's music has become significantly more influential, even on many Americana artists who never met her or heard her music when she was alive and operating mostly on a regional grassroots circuit. More than hundred artists have since covered her poetic contemplations on inner spaces of love and life and the outer spaces that seemingly reflect those. Among others, this includes a who's who of country rock, country folk, and Americana who were gathered by Kate Wolf's steady accompanist Nina Gerber for the compilation *Treasures Left Behind: Remembering Kate Wolf* (Red House, 1998). While such artists more often have been

(Among cultural referents, Native American ones are some of the commonest invoked to suggest the West.) In jazz-based New Age music, consider Paul Winter's *Canyon Lullaby* (inspired by the Grand Canyon).

[3] Country rock's history was discussed to some extent in Chapters 1 and 2. For more detailed historical considerations, especially of its California beginnings, see Walker (2007), Hoskyns (2005), Rogan (1997), Einarson 2001), and the BBC documentary *Hotel California: LA from the Byrds to the Eagles* (2007) (officially unavailable at the time of writing).

wont to lavish encomiums on Wolf's poetic genius, their recordings prove the equal impact of Wolf's recordings and their "magical" sound.[4]

Wolf's music, recorded between 1973 and 1986, was most often viewed as country folk music, although sometimes described in more regional terms as Northern California folk or acoustic country music, Sonoma County country, or West Coast country music (Kelp 2000: 17). Her work displayed an unwavering fixation with the West and, with her collaborators, she managed to code the beauty of certain Western spaces into musical and sonic gestures.

WEAVER OF VISIONS[5]: A BIOGRAPHY

Kate Wolf was an anomaly. Yet, she was very much of her time and place. To understand the subtle-yet-expansive soundscapes, shimmering with but not overwhelmed by studio sheen, found on her records, we do need to understand the milieus in which Wolf operated. The modifier "late- and post-countercultural" in this dissertation's title is there for the same reason. Music as well as spatial fixations vary in different cultural milieus. Kate Wolf's softly glowing pastoral country folk music talked in a specific tongue to audiences who shared similar values and obsessions. In subsequent years, artists who also spoke a similar tongue, albeit to a broader audience, for instance Nanci Griffith, have either had to delimit their intended market to an audience similarly raised

[4] The aforementioned Dave Alvin was one of many Americana and country folk artists who became familiar with Wolf's music after her death. In 2000, he had contributed to the *Treasure Left Behind* anthology with a reading of Wolf's "These Times We're Living in." Regarding Wolf's poetry, Alvin had this to say in the liner notes, "I don't know much about Kate Wolf's life and loves but in a few raw and tender lines, she sure knew a lot about mine." Alvin's homage to her (and her recordists') sound was articulated in his sound, rather than words. "Magic" was what Kate requested of her production team when she wanted more than the sound of live performance (Kelp 2000: 27).

[5] "Weaver of visions" was an expression Wolf first used on the song "Two-way Waltz" on Safe at Anchor in 1979.

or attempt to adopt a different language.[6] While with the exponential developments in surround sound in consumer audio equipment, spatiality of sound has materially exploded into the living room in the last decade,[7] the subtler more natural sounding soundscapes that characterized Wolf's albums c. 1979 to 1985 were of a time and remain attractive to a significant, although contracting, niche audience.

Kate Wolf was born in 1942 and was roughly of the same age group as most other folk revival singer-songwriters such as Gordon Lightfoot (b. 1938); Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, and Tom Rush (b. 1941); Jim Croce, John Denver, and Joni Mitchell (b. 1943); James Taylor (b. 1946); and Jackson Browne (b. 1948). All of these acoustic guitar picking and singing poets roughly went through the same progression stylistically, recording for similar popular countercultural audience through the mainstream major record label machinery. All started as solo acoustic "folk" performers and recording artists c. 1961 to 1967. Next, addition of drums and electrified instrumentation to their recordings made them "folk rock" musicians c. 1965 to 1971. Most went through a country rock phase c. 1967 to 1977, when their music also and often increasingly featured elaborate studio-based soft rock embellishments that put the music on the verge of the lush 1970s adult contemporary sound. With the usurping of the latter sound at the hands of urbane slick musics of the second half of the 1970s, most of these musicians were

[6] Nanci Griffith, who is eleven years younger than Kate Wolf, started recording in 1978 for Philo, a subsidiary of the Americana indie label Rounder. Like Wolf's, her music was also labeled country folk. In 1986, she switched to MCA Nashville and had significant success through the Music city's slicker pop-style spatial sounds heard on 1991's *Late Night Grande Hotel* (MCA). Griffith returned in 1993 to the more subtly spatial country folk sound with the multi-artist tribute album *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (Elektra, 1993), a project inspired by Kate Wolf's music and featuring Wolf's "Across the Great Divide" as the lead-off track. She reprised that sound with the sequel *Other Voices Too (A Trip Back to the Bountiful)* (Elektra, 1998). In the last decade, however, as the country folk audience, a holdout from the late countercultural era, has shrunk (maybe more as a record-buying market bracket than in actual numbers), Griffith has had to turn to slicker pop sounds perhaps in hopes of finding her way back to commercial viability with an Adult Contemporary section of the music market.

relegated to the category of culturally and musically non-relevant dinosaurs, at least in the urban youth market in which they had defined themselves musically over the previous decade. Thenceforth, each resorted to one of a number of strategies that emerged for aging rock musicians to stay financially solvent and at least partly artistically relevant.

By contrast, Kate Wolf turned toward making music publicly only around 1971, at the age of 29 (Wolf and Salinas 1975). Marriage in 1963 and raising two children subsequently were mainly responsible. She had also not found her voice as a performer, although it is difficult to imagine that she did not always have the warm singing voice that in later years immediately took hold of an audience's heartstrings. Wolf might have gotten up on stage on occasion before her marriage, and again c. 1965, but she did not become serious about a musical career until the turn of the decade, not appearing on any recording until 1973 and not recording as a leader until 1976, when she was already in her mid-thirties (Kelp 1998: 12-13). Her launching of her recording career in acoustic-based pastoral music coincided with the last significant stand of artistic integrity from her contemporaries who had been recording on mainstream labels for a decade or more. The major labels and their signees saw the market slipping out of their hands. Urbane, night-time music was replacing the music of rural daytime reveries, at least with the incoming next generation of urban youth. Some of the countercultural dropouts and erstwhile back-to-the-land proponents perhaps joined them as they returned to take up their positions behind office desks during the day. Dutch scholar Mel van Elteren has remarked on this cycle of rustic Americana and urban slickness (Elteren 1994: 95).

Other counterculturists, however, were not enthused about giving up on the lessons learned and tastes inculcated during their rustic sojourns. At least in some parts of

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[7] One could even call the current trend in sound a "hyperspatial" one, especially with non-listener's music that accompanies movie trailers, advertisements etc., the main inspiration for these sounds being their

the continent, a number of counterculturists could stay close to pastoral land and the organic lifestyles they had learnt; Northern California would remain one of those bastions of pastoral living celebrated also by Lonnie Youngblood, Van Morrison, and Robin Williamson (Kelp 2000:11). Many had also learnt the ropes of individual entrepreneurship.[8] This led to birth of a new generation of independent labels in the 1970s, which, unlike the 1940s country and hillbilly indies, were guided more by artistic vision than by commercial motive.[9] Foremost among the ones directed at urban markets were Rounder, Flying Fish, and Shanachie. Also important were companies that were launched in the 1960s including Yazoo and Aarhoolie, which were joined by 1980s labels including Red House. While these major independent labels nurtured niche markets of musical styles and genres that were on the way out in the mainstream, among those counterculturists who did not return to mainstream lives, the entrepreneurial spirit persisted. Wolf herself had it in abundance.

Once convinced that her calling was to be a performing musician, Wolf, in her late twenties, left behind an amiable marriage (and two children who would, off and on, accompany her in her itinerant musician's lifestyle), lived in a station wagon for extended periods, and started building her relationships with local audiences from the grassroots level (Kelp 2000: 15-18). After having played almost every eating and drinking establishment in Sonoma County, she moved into newspaper publication and radio, hosting shows broadcasting her vision for the continuing vitality of urban folk and

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predecessors in cinematic sound.

[8] The contemporary computer and organic food industries are just two examples often cited as examples of countercultural entrepreneurship.

[9] The reputations as savvy entrepreneurs and often shrewd operators of R&B and hillbilly indie label owners from 1940s and 1950s (such as the Chez Brothers of Chess Records, Artegun Brothers of Atlantic Records, Bihari Brothers of Modern/rpm Records, Lew Chudd of Imperial Records, Don Robey of Duke/Peacock Records, Syd Nathan of King Records) were hard earned. Their eyes were always on the prize, i.e. the next hit, although many did have concerns about artistic quality as a requisite for success.

country music. In 1974, without any experience in festival production, Wolf started the region's first folk festival, the Santa Rosa Folk Festival (Kelp 2000: 18). Her first two albums were released on her own record label, Owl Records, with the music published on her Another Sundown Publishing company; she had set up the latter to publish her song collections, two of which were in print even before her recording career was established. Her first two albums on Owl were picked up in 1978 by a more professionally managed independent label, Kaleidoscope, which would release Kate's remaining work during her lifetime, as well as her first two posthumous compilations before being bought by Rhino records (Kelp 2000). Not everyone who survived the 1960s gave up on countercultural dreams and Wolf collected around her those who continued to clutch onto them, demonstrating to them that the cause was not lost. Over the remainder of her career and beyond, Wolf's music and life would continue to touch other similar-minded people scattered across the continent and beyond.[10]

Kaleidoscope was started by Tom Diamant and Jeff Alexon and started life as one of the independent labels promoting progressive acoustic genres that had broken away from the mainstream to focus on niche audiences for "folk" oriented musics—progressive bluegrass, newgrass, old-time, and country folk were the genre descriptors variously applied to the musics released on these labels. Kaleidoscope's career was launched with another elaboration of the progressive bluegrass styles with an album described as the

[10] To live a life that inspired her and her music, Wolf had herself moved from San Francisco to the rural Sonoma County, many of whose dwellers were born and raised there. Her own soon-to-be second husband and musical partner Don Coffin was a fourth-generation denizen of the county and worked as a mailman in Sebastopol. Thus not all of Northern California was populated by counterculturalist back-to-the-land refugees from the city heeding the "call of the wild." To the rural locals, Kate Wolf's music spoke of shared experiences of back roads, golden rolling hills, and redtail hawks. Yet when she expanded her horizons past her little rustic abode, her music was greeted with an even greater passion by counterculturalists trapped in cities, appearing to great applause in front of audiences at D.C. area's The *Birchmere* and Austin's *Austin City Limits*. She was slotted to return to the nation's capital in 1986 for performances at the Kennedy Center and the legendary *WolfTrap* (Kelp 2000: 3).

first jazzgrass album, *The David Grisman Quintet*. Berkeley-based Diamant and Alexon became enamored of Wolf's music and intimately involved with her work.

As urban music mainstream became dominated by slick and technology-dominated sounds of late disco, new wave, and glam metal in the late 1970s and 1980s, an increasing section of adult audience was left high and dry without any palatable musical flavor in the mainstream. The roots music inflected sounds on which they had grown up in the previous decade had been edged out from major labels' attentions. Major labels had been pumping more and more money into promoting each album through the 1970s and thus demanding at least a platinum album each time.[11] To accomplish that goal, artists who still had major label contracts had to focus their music toward the new youth generation, which, as in the foregoing two decades, remained the most commercially significant section of the market. This time around, however, their partying music was not rock and roll or psychedelic- or blues- or country-rock, it was disco, new wave, and punk. Between 1976 and 1979, almost every major artist of the previous generation had to woo the new tastes. Most were either dropped from their contracts or gave up soon. Tom Rush, for example, released his last studio album for Columbia, *Ladies Love Outlaws*, in 1974, following it up only in 2009 with *What I Know* on the independent label Appleseed. Legendary singer-songwriters Paul Siebel and Willis Alan Ramsey, after releasing unreservedly admired albums, had already given up on the recording industry by 1972. The remaining folk and country influenced rock artists of that generation, megastars in the early 1970s with a hardly compromised sound, took one last shot to meet the slick music's challenge before throwing in the towel. Iain Matthews

[11] Jim Rigby talks about the phenomenon of major-label albums with sales of less than 100,000 copies being relegated to the cut-out racks (Rigby 1977). Elsewhere, there has been references to the phenomenon of albums that were "shipped gold, returned gold," when 500,000 copies or more were pre-ordered by

relinquished country rock with 1975's *Go for Broke* (Columbia), Jackson Browne with 1980s' *Hold Out* (Asylum) (including the prophetically-titled single "Disco Apocalypse"), and the Eagles with 1979's *The Long Run* (Asylum) (including the song "Disco Wrangler").

While the new urbane musics dominated the market, which since the dawn of the rock era had been monopolized by youth tastes, it is impossible to imagine that the majority of the remaining countercultural audience also converted to it. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, by the millions they had endorsed the folk- and country-inflected soft rock sound of James Taylor, Jim Croce, John Denver, Jackson Browne, the Eagles, Pure Prairie League, and Michael Martin Murphey. Now, the major labels could no longer be concerned about that sound or its remaining audience as they had a bigger and younger fish to fry. The independents also could not hope to fulfill the needs of this audience through folksy incompetent recording and packaging. Yet the crucial difference was that independent labels and artists were under less pressure. They did not have to keep up with every trend in the market, as they had learnt to stay afloat through local circuits and with less investment. Their music, at least in limited circuits, had longevity. So slowly they could catch up in terms of quality of packaging and sound. Thus the so-called country folk and progressive bluegrass sounds reached their spatial sonic acme relatively late, in the 1980s—Kate Wolf's *Close to You* and *Poet's Heart* (both on Kaleidoscope), Chris Hillman's *Morning Sky* and *Desert Rose* (both on Sugar Hill Records), Tony Rice's *Me and My Guitar* and *Native American* (both on Rounder), and Nanci Griffith's *Once in a Very Blue Moon* and *Last of the True Believers* (both on Philo, a subsidiary of Rounder) represent this peak.

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major outlets based on the hype, such as generated to back the sales of the supergroup Souther-Hillman-Furay.

From the career trajectory of Chris Hillman and Nanci Griffith, at least, it becomes clear that moving back into a section of the mainstream was a hope for some of the artists. Hillman started the Desert Rose Band and signed to Curb records and Nanci Griffitj signed with MCA Nashville. Both had significant success through slicker and somewhat more formulaic production and professional promotion through the Nashville machinery in the 1980s. Later artists in progressive bluegrass, Alison Krauss and the Union Station and Nickel Creek, had the benefit of Rounder and Sugar Hill Records' enhanced profile and improved technical capabilities and were able to reach mass audiences without compromise and need of a major label.

With Kate Wolf, however, it is not clear whether she had any significant interest in mass acceptance. She was definitely headed toward wider acclaim. In 1985, the year before she was diagnosed with her life to leukemia, she drew two standing ovations from an *Austin City Limits* audience, and performed four songs as encores (Wolf and Menotti 1985). Commercially successful singers on the country circuit, especially Nanci Griffith and Emmylou Harris, were beginning to acknowledge her influence and even major 1970s stars such as Jackson Browne, Graham Nash, and members of the Grateful Dead had been floored by her voice and music (Kelp 2000: 30). Her influence has spread more widely after her death and more than 100 musicians have covered her songs.

Those who knew her closely believe Wolf would never have relinquished any control on her music to anyone she did not trust intimately. On her last three studio albums that trustee was Bill Griffin, a bass and mandolin player who grew into the role of producer, mixer, and band director for *Safe at Anchor, Close to You*, and *Poet's Heart* (all on Kaleidoscope). While Wolf entrusted Griffin with fleshing out her skeletal recordings with sound shimmering with spatiality, she made many suggestions and

sometimes vetoed the producers' or her accompanists' decisions (Griffin 2009: personal interview). Wolf's tacit grasp of spatial considerations, however, is best appreciated by comparing those later albums with her pre-Griffin recordings—*Breezes* (1973), *Back Roads* (1976), and *Lines on the Paper* (1977).

The main aim of this dissertation is to draw attention to spatiality as an integral element of music, especially of recorded music, and to offer a model for analyzing all manners in which that space is coded into the final product made available on the market. In essence, I am positing that without grasping the spatial dimensions of recorded music, we do not even begin to get it. Traditional musical analyses focusing on "lines on the paper" are grossly inadequate and socio-cultural analyses (with regard to *lived* and often contested territorial places) are equally incompetent if it does not grasp humans' relationship to *desired* spaces. Thus, I wish to apply the model here to Kate Wolf's music, as a demonstration of how multi-faceted the communication of space may be in some music and how we can begin to unravel it systematically. The music's larger audience does it at a less attentive level than I might do as an analyst with a specific agenda in this work, but it would be a mistake to imagine that spatial codes have any less grip on them or they grasp them any less. Below, I start with the major taxonomic categories of spatial moves I proposed earlier and investigate Wolf's music for the use of each of the major categories of spatial codes.

SLOW AND EASY LIKE A DREAMER: WORDS AND PICTURES CATALOGING SPACES IN DRAWN OUT TIME (SPATIAL ALLUSIONS, NON-SONIC)[12]

Programs

Kate Wolf's albums did not include elaborate programmatic inserts as some major label albums discussed earlier had. Verbal programmatic cues in the form of liner notes, and visual programmatic cues in the form of photography laced with pastoral codes (discussed below), however, were splashed across the album jackets and inside covers. An example of the pastoral focus evidenced in liner notes comes from the back cover of *Poet's Heart*, the only Kate Wolf album that did not feature one of her own outdoors photographs with the sun haloing her hair in a photographic pastoral code we discussed earlier. The back cover of this album compensates for that omission with a photograph of Wolf lying on a California hill surrounded by tall yellow grass and wildflowers. Below the photograph is an anonymous quote succinctly summarizing the complex[13] side of countercultural pastoral, "We live in a world torn between wanting to listen to the sound of a flower growing, and wanting to ignore the sound of the sky falling. By sometimes being sensitive enough to the first process, we acquire the energy necessary to prevent the second." Not necessarily escapist, the counterculture turned to Nature to be reminded the lessons that help one deal with the problems of culture. On *Poet's Heart*, the quote was especially apposite as the album was dedicated to activist poets who had done the same through their lives—Eric Bogle and Bruce U. "Utah" Phillips.

[12] "Slow and easy like a dreamer," is how Wolf described a river on the song "Although I've Gone Away," recorded in 1980 for the multi-artist compilation from Sonoma Co., CA, First Press (Rail, 1981). On the title track of her debut albums Back Roads, Wolf summarized her placid relationship to the pastoral spaces of the West, "I'll take the backroads home through the open countryside, letting things slip by in *drawn out time*." The following analyses examine visual and musico-sonic counterparts of such verbal expressions.

Titles and lyrics

In twentieth-century American popular music, Wolf stands almost alone as a songwriter who most consistently alluded to Nature in most of her songs, perhaps even surpassing Gordon Lightfoot in that regard. She also consistently linked up emotions to visual images, relating inner spaces to outer ones. As one critic surmised with regard to Wolf's best known composition, "Give Yourself to Love," "in many of Wolf's best songs, the natural world and the interior emotional world become seamless parts of the same landscape (Alarik 1998: 2)." Wolf's songwriting was visual. Even at the start of her recording career, when she was not writing the majority of her material, she was drawn to lyrics that painted images of pastoral spaces. Her debut recording of Lionel Kilberg's poetry, released originally on Shoostryng Records in 1973 under Kilberg's name as *We Walked by the Water* and later in 1995 under Wolf's name as *Breezes* (Gadfly), evidences this early pastoral fixation in both those album titles drawn from titles of songs that appeared on the recording.

With Wolf's recordings as a leader, one only needs to consider some of the following song titles to guess the agenda of the songs. "Sitting on the Porch," "Riding in the Country," "Back Roads," "Redtail Hawk," and "Telluride" appeared on *Back Roads*. "Trumpet Wine," "The Lilac and the Apple" and the traditional "Midnight on the Water," appeared on *Lines on the Paper*. Starting with *Safe at Anchor,* with Bill Griffin taking over the producer's reins and Wolf's move to the better funded Kaleidoscope records, the nature poet could tap into studio technology to flesh out the latent spatiality of her lyrics. Her project from this point on became even more elaborately and complexly spatial.

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[13] In terms of Leo Marx's definitions of types of pastoral orientations. Marx defined complex pastoral, or pastoral of the mind, in contradistinction to a simple pastoral or pastoral of the sentiment (Gifford 1999: 3).

"Safe at Anchor," "Early Morning Melody," "She Rises like the Dolphin," "Shining," and "Seashore Mountian Lady," were some picturesque song titles that appeared on *Safe at Anchor*. *Close to You* featured "Across the Great Divide," "Leggett Serenade,"[14] "Like a River," "Eyes of a Painter," "Here in California," and "Stone on the Water." The live *Give Yourself to Love*, among covers such as Jack Tempchin's "Peaceful Easy Feeling" and older studio album tracks, featured new picturesque song titles in "Desert Wind," "Green Eyes," "Cornflower Blue," "Far-Off Shore," and "Medicine Wheel." "Carolina Pines," "Muddy Roads," "Brother Warrior," and "Slender Thread" were some of the imagistic titles on *Poet's Heart*. The posthumous *The Wind Blows Wild* featured "Old Jerome" (a legendary copper mining town in Arizona, even the name of which instantly conjured images of the Old West), "Monday in the Mountains," "Rising of the Moon," "Streets of Calgary" (in parallel with "Streets of Laredo," the title invokes images of the historic Old West town, rather than the contemporary metropolis), "Fly Away," "The Wind Blows Wild," and Bruce "Utah" Phillips' "Clearing in the Forest."

The above list leaves little doubt as to the pastoral spatial fixation of Wolf's visual music. The main question that remains is: beyond verbal poetic moves, what other moves did Wolf employ to bring the referenced spaces to life in front of an around the listener, musically and sonically? It must be noted, in any case, that some of the most picturesque lyrics appear in songs whose titles were not as revealing of the pastoral spatial project. With over 200 songs, Wolf was a prolific songwriter, and an exceptionally consistent one, qualitatively. Her lyrical poetry by itself deserves a monograph. For lack of time and space, I will not delve into the imagistic details of her lyrics in this section, and I will definitely not be able to do justice to the countless, achingly beautiful images Wolf

[14] Leggett is a picturesque small town in North California's Redwood forest region famous for the drive-through Chandelier Tree.

painted with her pen. In the categories that follow, we will, however, have a chance to consider a number of instances when Wolf and her collaborators fleshed out such lyrics with specific types of musical or sonic spatial moves, whether involving (performance) technique or (recording) technology.

Album covers

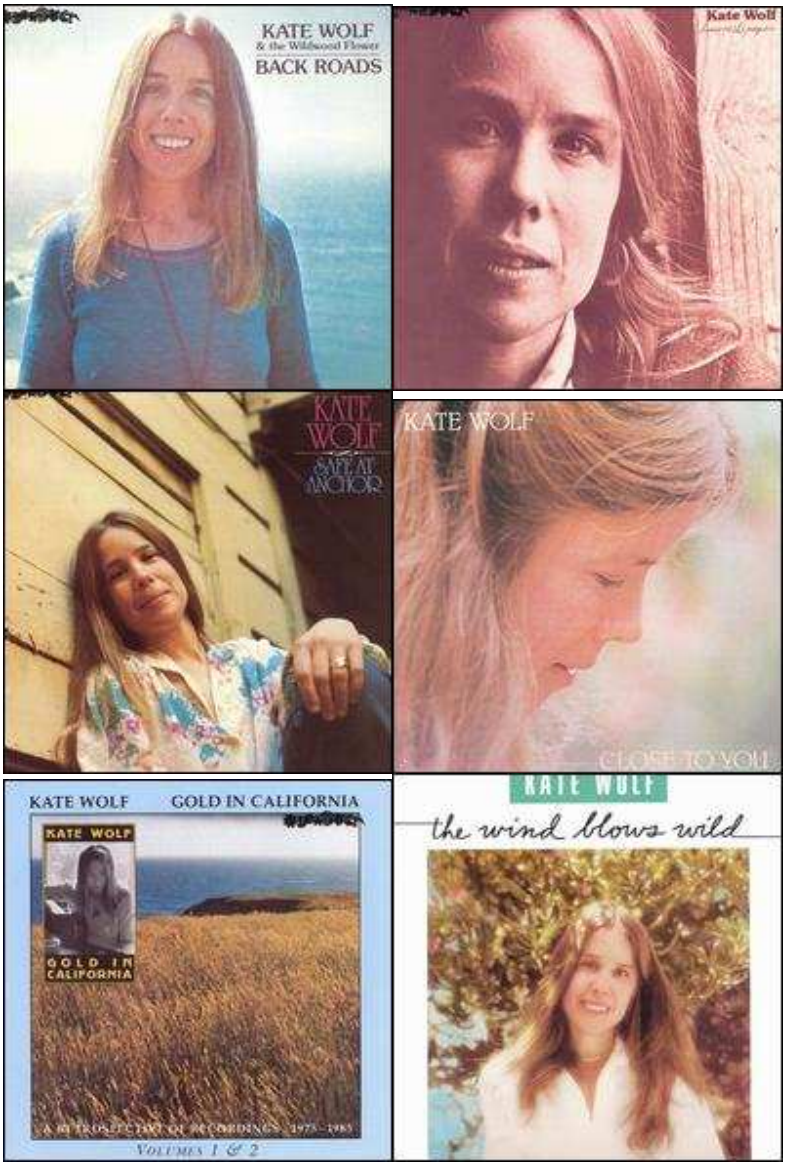

Fig 4.1: Pastoral front cover photographs on Kate Wolf's albums: Top: *Back Roads* and *Lines on the Paper*. Middle row: *Safe at Anchor* and *Close to You*. Bottom row: Two posthumously released compilations, *Gold in California* and *The Wind Blows Wild*. Note the consistent use of outdoors shots with slanting sunlight haloing the subject's hair. For a discussion of the use of this visual pastoral code in photography, see Chapter 3.

There is no doubt that Wolf's album covers projected a sense of pastoral space, although the implication was sometimes subtle. Other than the live compilation *Give Yourself to Love* and her last studio album *Poet's Heart*, which shows a desk and a poem on a letter head, almost all other Wolf's album covers were outdoors shots of her with sunlight bouncing off and haloing her hair. They are all variations on the theme we have discussed in Chapter 3, exploiting codes of photography that lend an image, otherwise merely a photo shot in the outdoors, a pastoral aura. It is beyond the scope of this project to pin down the specific mechanics that make certain pictorial codes successful in pastoral evocations and the even more elusive manners in which they might parallel codes in a different sensuous medium—sound. My hope here is to draw attention to the pervasiveness of these codes, which extend from pastoral painting to photography and cinema and, in the section on sonic codes (especially under the categories of timbre and aftersound), to provide some preliminary analysis of the parallels as I see in them. The field of investigating cross-sensory overlaps remains a tantalizing one and interdisciplinary studies have encouraged some scholars to take on the task of analyzing such imbrications and continuities between the visual and the aural (Frisch 1990; Truckenbrod 1992).

EARLY MORNING MELODIES AND WATERFALL RUNS (SPATIAL ALLUSIONS, SONIC: MUSICAL)

Tonality and harmonic progressions

Kate Wolf began performing as part of the urban folk revival c. 1965, although she had received classical piano lessons for twelve years until she was sixteen (Kelp 2000: 11-12). As a mother of two and a full-time housewife she rarely performed in the 1960s. It was at venues such as Big Sur in the continuing folk revival at the end of the

decade that she was urged to join in, by friends such as songwriter Gil Turner (Kelp 200:13). Thus her earliest songs would evince the harmonic and structural simplicity of urban revival folksong. Her first collections of songs published in 1971, the year she decided to become a professional musician and started composing, reveals this simplicity with only two songs using any chords other than the three major chords that dominate Anglo-American folk music—the tonic I, the dominant V (or V7), and the sub-dominant IV.

Pretty soon, however, Wolf was beginning to dig deeper into her knowledge of harmony to feature more complex harmonic progressions and song structures. Some of these were discussed in the previous chapter. Here I will attempt to summarize salient harmonic moves that Wolf tapped with some regularity. In this endeavor, I was helped saliently by the two songbooks published after her death by her family under the aegis of Owl Productions. The books, *The Kate Wolf Songbook* and *Kate Wolf Revisited: A Second Volume of Songs,* include the chords, vocal melody line, and lyrics for the included songs. The first volume presents Wolf-penned songs that appeared on the six albums during her lifetime and the second volume includes songs released posthumously, unreleased songs extending back to Wolf's first two published anthologies before she became a recording artist, and other artists' compositions that she recorded. Harmonically, the biggest growth in compositional maturity appears in the two albums leading up to 1979's *Safe At Anchor*, at which point Wolf appears to have fully evolved as a songwriter-composer; her sound also, with help from Bill Griffin, Nina Gerber, and Kaleidoscope Records, seemed to have reached the peak at which it would stay for the last six years of her recording career.

As mentioned earlier, Wolf started with simplistic paeans to the rural countryside with simple major-chord harmonies. Diatonic minor chords were used sparingly, and other harmonic moves such as a borrowed dominant even more rarely. But her harmonic palette broadened significantly by the time she recorded her first album in 1975. Even in that phase of her career, a video shot at her home by a local musician and television host Mike Salinas shows how Wolf's live repertory focused on simpler folk-based harmonies on strummed sing-along songs (Wolf and Salinas 1975). The more atmospheric moves were reserved for studio settings where their nuance could be captured.

Despite the increasing complexity Wolf's harmonies evidenced in the following decade, especially for someone labeled a country folk musician, overall her harmonic palette was unsurprising from a classical music perspective, in which she had had some training through piano lessons. In folk- and country- based vernacular genres what appears more significant, however, is how much emotional and atmospheric mileage is achieved through what are otherwise fairly standard harmonic moves. Following is a breakdown of the common harmonic strategies employed in Wolf's oeuvre and some of the atmospheric songs on which they appear:

1. Use of the vi chord and switches to the relative minor mode:
    a) Switch b/w Ionian and the relative minor mode: "You're not Standing Like You Used to," "The Heart," "Here in California," "Unfinished Life," "These Times We're Living In"
    b) More limited use of vi chord: "I Don't Know Why," "Lay Me Down Easy," "Across the Great Divide," "Leggett Serenade," "Early Morning Melody," "Sweet Love," "Great Love of My Life"
2. Use of other diatonic minor chords (ii and iii) and the respective modes:

a) Switch b/w Ionian and Dorian mode: “She Rises Like the Dolphin”

b) More limited use of the ii chord: “Full Time Woman,” “Great Love of My Life,” “September Song,” “Poet’s Heart,” “Slender Thread”

c) Limited use of the iii chord: “Leggett Serenade,” “Close to You”

3. Parallel minor (transient shifts to/borrowed chords from):

    a) Borrowing the bVI: “Leggett Serenade”

    b) Borrowing the iv: “Friend of mine,” “Carolina Pines”

4. Secondary dominants:

    a) II7 (V/V): “Safe at Anchor”

    b) III7 (V/vi): “She Rises Like the Dolphin,” “Looking Back at You,” “Stone in the Water,” “Poet’s Heart”

    c) VI (V/ii): “She Rises Like the Dolphin”

SHE RISES LIKE THE DOLPHIN: A CASE STUDY (SPATIAL ALLUSIONS, SONIC: MUSICAL AND ACOUSTIC MOVES IN TANDEM)

While all the harmonic moves used in Kate Wolf’s songs are well described in Western harmony, the most significant difference appears in their treatment. Below, I will use Wolf’s recording of “She Rises Like the Dolphin,” from *Safe at Anchor* to analyze some of her inventive twists on not unusual harmonic moves, as also the musicians’ and recordists’ musico-sonic treatments of spatially the most affective moves.

Intro: /Am(vi) / /F(IV) /C(I) /

/Dm(ii) /C(I) /G(V) /C(I) /

Phrase 1: /Dm(ii) / /G(V) / /

/F(IV) / /A(V/ii)/ /

Phrase 2: /Dm(ii) / /C(I) / /

/G(V) / / /C(I) / /

Phrase 3: /F(IV) / /C(I) / /

/Dm(ii) / / /E(V/vi)/ /

Phrase 4: /Am(vi) / /F(IV) /C(I) /

/Dm(ii) /C(I) /G(V) /C(I) /

Fig. 4.2: "She Rises Like The Dolphin" (Key: C major, with respect to capo) (capo 5)

"She Rises Like the Dolphin" has been described as impressionistic, and part of the reason inviting that judgment might be the innovative harmonic moves with an apparently shifting tonal center. The song is notated in the key of C in *the Kate Wolf Songbook* and the chord chart I have provided here assumes the key of C major.[15] Yet, the song starts in A minor, with no clear musical evidence early on to suggest that the intro is gravitating toward C major. No sooner does it establish a C major tonality, the song usurps it by starting the first phrase of the first stanza on D minor. While there is a minor tradition of wistful folk-rock songs starting on the ii chord (as in Danny Whitten's "I Don't Want to Talk about It") or the iii chord (as in the Rolling Stones' "Wild Horses" and Craig Fuller's "Angel"), on "She Rises" the ending of the first phrase on A, the

[15] Although a capo at the 5th fret of the guitar makes it sound in F, I will discuss the harmony with respect to the key of C.

simplified triadic version of the dominant chord in D, further solidifies D as the tonal center of this section of the composition. In fact, past the intro, it is not until the seventh measure of the uneven-length, nine-measure second phrase that the melody, at that point over a G major chord, suggests gravitation toward the upcoming C major chord in measure 8 of phrase 2. At this point, the song has moved to the Ionian mode of the key. The third phrase starts on F major, the IV of C, and through C major moves to D minor in measure 5. This time, however, the melody has a tension over the D minor that was not there when it was the home base in the first phrase. This time around, however, D minor is operating as the ii of C, but is headed toward becoming the iv of the upcoming tonal center of A minor in the seventh measure of phrase 3, leading into E, the triadic version of the dominant chord in A. Phrase 4, eases the tension set up by the dominant, by returning to A minor, now the tonic. From there, the return to the relative major C is now a more predictable harmonic journey, as it was already charted once in the instrumental introduction. Thus in the course of four phrases, the song moves from the related keys of D minor, to C major, to A minor, and back to C major, without settling down around one center for long. There are a number of points of high harmonic tension, which are partly relieved by the ensuing change. Each such point of heightened tension and subsequent release sets up a shift in the spatial or atmospheric character of the song and is enhanced by moves involving the major categories and subcategories of timbral and textural shifts discussed in Chapter 3. Adding to the sense of impressionistic image painting are of course the imagistic lyrics (see below) and even a reference to a “painter’s palette knife,” in the very first verse.

> *Stanza 1*
> She rises like the dolphin, with the sea wind in her eyes,
> and the sunlight casting shadows, like a painter's palette knife.

Her hair fans out around her, floating like a crown,
She plays on the water, and lets it pull her down.
Sometimes she swims in moonlight, with the stars high above,
the night sounds of the water speaking soft of love.
Her skin turns to velvet, as she feels the waters glide,
She loses all her boundaries, on this magic carpet ride.

Stanza 2
You see ripples on the water, and watch the shadows dance,
Then she's diving down, and you're looking through a glass.
Like a one way mirror, her reflection's far below,
Where she was, she isn't now, that's all you really know.
Two swimmers in the water, one of silver, one of gold.
One below the surface, one reaching for a hold.
One floating freely, one tryin' not to drown,
A dreamer with two faces, a dolphin and a clown.

Stanza 3
If you think you'll hold her, in a shallow pool,
Or catch her in a waterfall, you're thinking like a fool.
She'll strike up the horizon, like a ship out to sea,
Leaving just illusions, that look like memories.
She wears the water like a mask, a brand new suit of clothes,
A player on the stage, an actress no one knows.
See her roll and tumble, falling like a clown,
A swimmer in the water, that runs from higher ground.

The song's harmonic off-centeredness contributes to the judgment of impressionism levied upon the overall strikingly visual enterprise. Yet, the picture is not complete without the appropriate sonic backdrop and choice brushstrokes appositely applied at crucial junctures of the sonic painting. Officially, there are only four instruments on the recording and there do not appear to be any overdubs—Kate Wolf on acoustic guitar panned to the left side, Nina Gerber on lead acoustic guitar panned to the

opposite end of the stereo breadth span, Bill Amatneek on double bass, and Dan Rubin on violin. Two vocals, Wolf's lead and Gerber's harmony, are the only other sound sources.

Despite the presence of up to six voices, the overall texture is sparse, although dynamically responsive to the lyrics and the harmony. Amatneek's bass and Gerber's guitar launch the instrumental intro. Although traditionally bass is described as having a non-directional character, a few rewinds and repeated listening to this spare track make it clear that a bass can have more than one presence in the apparent sonic spatial picture. While the booming fundamental pitch of the bass notes may appear non-directional to the ear, the higher spectral information conveyed by the sound of the fingers sliding into each note on an upright (and hence fretless) bass does have a directional character, in this case appearing slightly to the left side n the stereo span, roughly the same side-to-side position where Kate Wolf's guitar would later appear slightly closer up front. In addition, the upper spectral end of the bass sound is also accompanied by significant reverb (perhaps mixed in after the recording), limning the depths of the implied soundscape, which words would soon describe in picturesque detail.

Gerber's guitar is up front in the mix, clearly because of close miking. It also features a significant reverb, thus helping define both the near surface and a certain level of depth of the soundscape. Wolf's guitar accompaniment part and Gerber's harmony vocal are sparingly featured and appear more off-mic than their lead counterparts—Gerber's guitar and Wolf's vocal. The violin follows the bass and the lead guitar into the mix and initially appears in the foreground on the left channel. It is mostly through loudness that it achieves this nearness. Once Wolf's vocal enters, the violin drops to the middleground, by dropping the aggression of the bowing and by playing off-mic. As discussed earlier, the characteristics of its timbral envelope as a gently bowed instrument,

rather than an aggressively plucked one, contribute to an elided attack. As it is in the attack phase, if it is sharp, that the higher-frequency partials typically have the greatest energy and the ability to suggest nearness (based on listeners' trained association of such spectra with nearness), a gently bowed violin does not suggest the nearness of a plucked steel string guitar sounding at the same volume. Thus the other two sonic determinants of apparent nearness—namely volume and the proportion of direct to reflected sound—become crucial to a violin's dynamic charting of space over the course of a recording. On "She Rises Like a Dolphin," volume is the main determinant. One of the reasons that the increase in the relative volume of reflected sound one would expect as an instrument moves away from the microphone does not appear to be a major factor likely is that, like most studios, the studio used here employed sound deadening material to record each instrument as dryly as possible. Bill Griffin, the record's producer, informed me that that was his standard preference and he typically decided upon the amount of reverb each instrument should have based on where he chose to place it the soundscape to be suggested, which continued to dynamically evolve throughout the recording and the mixing processes (Griffin 2009: personal interview).

Wolf's vocal is the next voice to enter the mix and is placed front and center. As typical of "sensitive" singer-songwriter folk-derived music, especially within the soft rock genre of the late 1960s and 1970s, every breathy sibilant and crack of her lips and vocal chords is registered by the sensitive microphone, lending the lead vocal both a sense of physical closeness and a sense of emotional power. Gerber's guitar, charting the right hemisphere of the 3-D space with its mix of direct and reverberant sounds, mostly stays out of the limelight when Wolf is singing. Gerber, however, steps in with thoughtful flourishes at each pause in the vocals. Many of these flourishes have more of a purely

musical value, but certain ones at crucial junctures in the harmony have equal or greater sonic, space-charting function. Especially in phrase 3 when the vocal line suspends for two measures on the 3rd note of the E major, the triadic version of the dominant chord of the transient key of Am, Gerber's guitar enters an agitated strumming figure that draws attention both to the most significant atmospheric shift in the song and also seemingly moves the guitar closer to the foreground, just as Wolf's voice fades in volume on the held note. It is significant that the held vocal melody note, G#, does not only belong to the E major, which can be interpreted as a borrowed chord, the secondary dominant of vi of the overall key of C, but it also is the b6 degree of C. The flattened 6th was also an important and emphasized constituent of chords borrowed from the parallel minor: it was the root of the bVI chord on songs such as Wolf's "Leggett Serenade" and Craig Fuller's "Angel" (see Chapter 3) and the third of the borrowed iv chord on Wolf's "Friend of mine" and "Carolina Pines," and resulted in a atmospheric suspension that is often exploited in acoustic-based countercultural music. On "She Rises," The suspension on E major is relieved by the temporary tonic, Am. Gerber, is again careful to announce this relief in the tension and shift in atmosphere by a languid scrape-strum, a move I discussed in detail from timbral and musical perspective. The languidness of the scrape-strum on Am parallels the relaxation, as the aggressive strumming had mirrored the heightened tension on the E major. Although not in each one, at least in the last two stanzas, these shifts in tension reflect the emotional and narrative tension-and-release patterns of the lyrical text and may be viewed to constitute a form of word painting.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis of “She Rises Like the Dolphin” has been presented merely as an illustrative example of how any given recording, when listened to and interrogated systematically under each of the broad array of categories of potential spatializing moves, can yield fresh insights into the subtler aspects of seemingly simple folk-based music. Clearly, this or any other selected recording will not feature the whole wide spectrum of possible moves that might work toward inscribing and enhancing space on a recording. Wolf’s remaining recorded catalog provides opportunities of hearing almost each one of the moves I have proposed in this dissertation and her subtly spacious recordings were a major inspiration behind this project. In the future, I might have the opportunity to present a more detailed exploration of a single spatially-fixated artist’s whole repertory of spatial vocabulary, but in this analysis the hope has been one of taking the model I have proposed through some of its paces. Of course, a number of other examples of fairly detailed analysis do appear in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This project had its formal roots in term papers I wrote for Prof. Veit Erlmann's seminar on music and technology and Prof. Karl Miller's (different from Dr. Karl Hagstrom Miller, my dissertation committee member) seminar on digital archiving, both in fall 2004. The next public presentation of some of the concepts explored here was at the Extreme Folklore and Ethnomusicology conference at Indiana University, Bloomington, in March 2006. Informally, I can trace the seeds of some of these concerns further back to a specific type of orientation to music, as to other sensory and aesthetic objects, and maybe to life itself. Deeper delving into late countercultural music and interviews with some of its makers has confirmed for me that that orientation and those concerns are not unique to me. Subtly spatial studio-recorded countercultural music shared a fixation with capturing in sound the beauty of natural spaces.

My own gravitation towards exceptionally spatially oriented, often pastoral, musics might have much to do with a personal history of growing up in one of the world's most crowded concrete jungles—New Delhi. The music's North American and British makers' and its original intended audiences' attraction to such a focus in music was based in slightly different milieus, themselves not without some degree of overlap. One major aspect of this work, thus, became understanding the socio-cultural factors that drove the pastoral and overtly spatial projects of the music considered herein. Chapter Two, especially and at length explored the various, ostensibly separate, cultural enclaves that came under the pervasive sway of countercultural ideologies and dreams.

In my aforementioned term papers and conference presentation, I had focused on timbre, aftersound, and texture as the major categories under which the most significant

but underexplored spatial moves fall. While I hold on to that impression, the taxonomical table for spatial moves I have presented at the beginning of Chapter Three (table 3.1) shows that spatial suggestions inscribed into music and the overall market product can fall under a much broader array of categories and subcategories. While I believe that presenting such an elaborate dissection as a model of *ana-lysis* of inadequately explored aspects of music is itself perhaps the most important contribution of this project, I do think that this model is most applicable only when the researcher has long-standing familiarity with an extensive body of works, some overtly connected and other less clearly associated.

The constituencies of these musics, whether of makers or listeners, have not been the same—that much is clear. Nor are their languages identical. It should be unsurprising, therefore, that the scholarly constituencies interested in each have also been different. Thus, a less provincial orientation of a non-insider, at least in my case, has proven crucial to recognizing and caring for the overlaps, in the musics, their listening publics, and their guiding ideologies. Yet, while these were factors significant in my concern for and recognition of overlap patterns, I do hope that the overlaps eventually do lie outside of my interpretation in the socio-cultural, musical, and acoustic phenomena, and can be confirmed by others using various methodologies.

Jazz insiders, in perhaps the most conspicuous instance, have been especially resistant to acknowledging overlaps between their worlds and those outside. Still, the disavowal has become much more obdurate over the decades following the counterculture's heyday. I have tried to present, under different categories, evidence that substantiates the dovetailing of jazz and popular youth musics during the countercultural era. Of course, jazz rock and fusion music are widely recognized as an example of that

coming together; that recognition has resulted in a small number of works being integrated by the jazz academy into the canon but the others being dismissed. Yet, overlaps existed in many other streams of jazz reaching out to meet the desires and ideals of the countercultural generation. Much more evidence of such overlaps exists and needs to be explored; the other analytic categories I have proposed here but have had limited occasion to apply to a given genre might be useful in a more intensive study on a more delimited body of hybrid works falling between jazz and other popular musics.

While Geoffrey Himes (2001) perhaps coined the term “pastoral jazz” and recently David Ake (2007) has more extensively explored its musical and extramusical codes, they focus on white jazz musicians recording for the German ECM label that is especially noted for its conspicuously spacious musical and recording aesthetic. To me, it is surprising that neither author comments upon the larger countercultural phenomenon of widespread exploration of alternative spaces and identities. Given the source of the generational dissatisfaction, namely modern urban life and its particularly disturbing aspects in some parts of the post-WWII world, a pastoral aspect to the sought alternative spaces should also be unsurprising. These patterns are discernible not just in the works of ECM artists such as Keith Jarrett, Bill Frissell, and Pat Metheny on whose careers Ake focuses, but in the works of jazz musicians working along a number of other axes. Upon informal assessment, I see one such axis running through the cosmic and cosmopolitan world spaces explored by John Coltrane, Yusef Lateef, Pharoah Sanders, Lonnie Liston Smith, Leon Thomas, Santana, and Osibisa. Another more clearly runs through the folk-jazz groups Paul Winter Consort and Oregon, and their alumni Paul Winter, Paul McCandless, and Ralph Towner. Other connections are less clearly discernible but a

nexus of shared ideological, musical, and sonic concerns remains in their recorded works, waiting to be explored in detail and at length.

I have not explored the historical connections linking these individual musicians or elaborated all manners in which their musics overlap. Nor have I undertaken a detailed investigation of all aspects of a given musician's or group's explorations of pastoral spaces. What I have done here is offered a taxonomy of dimensions that might evince spatial fixations, extending from musicians' identities (Chapter Two) to an extensive inventory of non-sonic and sonic elements (including both traditionally musical and largely acoustic aspects) (Chapter Three) that are part of the musical product, which in the case of countercultural era recorded music typically was the long-play 33rpm vinyl record album, and used apposite examples that helped illustrate a specific spatial code. In many instances, I have also demonstrated the extension of the specific element in question across works and sometimes across genres to establish its validity as a widely understood code. Using the multi-pronged method presented here for holistically interrogating any music, any of these axes of musical influence can be further examined from every aspect.

My attempt in this dissertation has been to develop an investigative model that starts with a multi-faceted exploration of what nominally might be just one element, in this case space, and proceeds to interrogate every aspects of that element's relationship with a given music and its makers. The process of thorough exploration of every aspect of space's relationship to music, I believe has led me to a better understanding of the many conceptualizations of that singular-appearing element, extending from what all it might mean musically, to its various understandings from phenomenological, ideological,

acoustic, and psychoacoustic standpoints. All of these have bearing on the multifarious manners in which space relates to music, musicians, and listeners.

Another hope in this cross-disciplinary investigation has been to show the kind of exciting possibilities that lie beyond the boxes of contemplation in which human intellectual exploration often gets compartmentalized. The model proposed here casts a wide net across genres and does require a broad and fairly in-depth familiarity with a large cross-section of music from a given period. It starts with close listening, as much of the music investigated here, irrespective of genre label, is listeners' music. Thus it requires a different investigative approach compared to those used for music that is primarily intended for live performance and reception in a communal setting. The investigative directions that emerge do so from an attention to detail and a curiosity unbounded by specific disciplinary training. Phenomenology, identity politics, acoustics, and psychoacoustics were the fields that helped me most in unraveling the workings of what I saw and heard, but I was led to exploring what these fields might have to offer by the questions that emerged from the aural and visual observations made over half a lifetime.

A degree of conjecture necessarily lingers in the ensuing interpretations. A part of me does wish all my interpretations could have scientific certainty. In some of the aspects, I did hope to reach more scientific assuredness. For instance, I was hoping to incorporate spectrography into the investigation to add a visual certainty to the working of timbral aspects of sound. Yet constraints of time and of other resources guided me toward the use of secondary sources and I extrapolated information and inferences from spectrography-aided studies by scholars from ethnomusicology (Fales 2000), acoustics (Rossing 2000), and psychoacoustics (Butler 1973; Butler and Belendiuk 1977; Musicant

and Butler 1985) in developing an analysis of what I heard consistently and across pieces and genres.

A direction that I have been most interested in pursuing is the possibility, degree, manner, and mechanisms of overlap in the working of various human sensual faculties. A number of scholars have recognized the imbrications of all these aspects of human perception (Frisch 1990) and been interested in how the overlaps have been or may be exploited (Truckenbrod 1992). On my part, I have spent considerable breath on offering analysis, often more poetic than scientific, of analogies between sonic auras of aftersound and partials and visual haloes of pastoral photography. Artists from Schoenberg to Pink Floyd to Loggins & Messina have been interested in presenting multisensual art forms—"expression unlimited by form," as one commentator said of Schoenberg's artistic mission (Griffiths 1987: 29-30). This dissertation has been an invitation to explore the multi-sensual visions woven by some exceptional weavers of vision—their music paints pictures and their visual art strikes a musical chord. It's a many splendored world, ripe for exploration, both poetically and scientifically.

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Vita

Ajay Kalra was born in New Delhi. He graduated from Delhi Public School. After a degree in medicine (M.B.B.S.) from University of Delhi's University College of Medical Sciences and a year-and-a-half stint in a post-graduate M.D. program in Pathology, Kalra almost entered India's prestigious National Institute of Fashion Technology. Returning to medicine, he earned a post-graduate diploma in medical radio-diagnosis (D.M.R.D.) from University of Delhi's Lady Hardinge Medical College. In 1997, he was awarded a gold medal for best resident by the same institute. Kalra next planned to move to the US as a doctor and passed the USMLE in 1998. Deciding to pursue his American musical muse instead, in 1999 he reached East Tennessee State University to enroll in its Bluegrass and Old-time Country Music Program. While playing in various ensembles and serving as Assistant Editor for the *Encyclopedia of Appalachia*, in 2003 he graduated with a Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies. While pursuing his Ph.D., he has played electric bass guitar in a number of Austin bands, received a Berea College Appalachian Music Fellowship in 2006, worked as archivist for the State of Tennessee, and taught three courses in blues and rock history at the University of Texas at Austin and Texas State University-San Marcos. Kalra remains under the spell of perfect music, especially that inspired by America's wide open spaces.

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